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ABSTRACT

Statements by the following individuals were given at this hearing and are presented in this document: Hon. Lamar Alexander; David McCullough; Hon. Robert Byrd; Bruce Cole; Eugene W. Hickok; James H. Billington; Diane Ravitch; Hon. Christopher J. Dodd; and Russell Berg accompanied by Peter Sullivan and Blanche Deaderick. Additional material including statements, articles, publications, and letters relating to this hearing are appended. (MA)

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S. HRG. 108–92

PUTTING THE TEACHING OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVICS BACK IN THE CLASSROOM

ED 483 015

HEARING

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR, AND PENSIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

EXAMINING S. 504, TO ESTABLISH ACADEMIES FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVICS AND A NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF TEACHERS OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVICS

APRIL 10, 2003

Printed for the use of the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions

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CONTENTS

STATEMENTS

APRIL 10, 2003

	Page
Alexander, Hon. Lamar, a U.S. Senator from the State of Tennessee	1
McCullough, David, Historian and Writer, West Tisbury, MA	8
Byrd, Hon. Robert, a U.S. Senator from the State of West Virginia	16
Cole, Bruce, Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities; Eugene W. Hickok, Under Secretary for Education, U.S. Department of Education; and James H. Billington, The Librarian of Congress, Library of Congress	21
Ravitch, Diane, Research Professor of Education, New York University, Brooklyn, New York, and Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution	35
Dodd, Hon. Christopher J., a U.S. Senator from the State of Connecticut	40
Berg, Russell, student, Trumbull High School, Trumbull, CT; accompanied by Peter Sullivan, History Teacher, Trumbull High School, Trumbull, CT; and Blanche Deaderick, History Teacher, Memphis, TN	44

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

Statements, articles, publications, letters, etc.:	
Senator Byrd	67
Senator Cornyn	68
Senator Cochran	68
Bruce Cole	70
Eugene W. Hickok	71
James H. Billington	74
Blanche Deaderick	75
Diane Ravitch	76
Russell Berg	78
Philip D. Duncan	79
Lawrence M. Small	80
Robin Butterfield	82

PUTTING THE TEACHING OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVICS BACK IN THE CLASSROOM

THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 2003

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR, AND PENSIONS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:06 a.m., in room SD–430, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Alexander, presiding.

Present: Senators Alexander and Dodd.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR ALEXANDER

Senator ALEXANDER. We will call the hearing to order. I want to note the presence of Dr. Billington, Bruce Cole, Diane Ravitch, and others who will testify. I want to especially acknowledge the presence of Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia, who has been a leader in the Senate in encouraging the focus on the study of traditional American history and who in previous Congresses put into the appropriations bill a significant appropriation which is now being administered by the Department of Education for grants for the teaching of American history across the country. I am delighted that Senator Byrd has come today.

Senator, we hope you will have something to say before you leave. When would you prefer to do that?

Senator BYRD. At some point when it is convenient after Mr. McCullough speaks.

Senator ALEXANDER. All right.

Senator BYRD. I came here this morning especially to hear him.

Senator ALEXANDER. We are glad you are here, and after Mr. McCullough finishes, I will invite you to come up and make a statement.

Senator BYRD. Thank you.

Senator ALEXANDER. We appreciate your coming.

I want to thank Senator Gregg for inviting me to Chair this hearing this morning. We had a good visit with Senator Kennedy prior to the hearing. The hearing today will address the intersection of two concerns which are extremely important to the future of our country: the education of our children and the principles that unite us as Americans. It is time to put the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools so our children can grow up learning what it means to be an American.

3 0 5

We are especially sensitive to this right now at a time when we are asking our young men and women to fight to defend our country's values. We are not doing a very good job of teaching just what those values are. Too many of our children do not know exactly what it means to be an American. National exams show that 4th, 8th, and 12th graders are not proficient in civics knowledge, and, further, the students do not have basic knowledge. Children usually do not learn because they are not being taught, and so the focus today is to put an increased focus on the teaching of American history and civics.

As I mentioned earlier, this is not the first effort of the United States Congress to encourage this. In addition to Senator Byrd's initiative on the teaching of American history, there are 11 programs that the Federal Government funds, and as Mr. McCullough will undoubtedly talk about, there are huge institutions that we have that make the teaching of American history easier and more exciting. Dr. Hickok from the Department of Education will be here to talk about those as well.

This hearing is specifically on the subject of legislation which I introduced with 19 cosponsors—including Senator Reid, the Democratic Whip; Senators Gregg and Kennedy from this committee; Senator Frist, our Majority Leader—which would create summer residential academies for teachers and students of American history and civics, 2 weeks for teachers, 4 weeks for students. And at these academies, they would learn more about and be inspired about the key events, ideas, and institutions that created our democracy.

We have in our State of Tennessee a number of Governor's Schools for teachers and for students which were enormously successful in a variety of subjects. And there have been such Governor's Schools in 28 States. It is a way for teachers to come together in the summer for a couple of weeks and find different ways to teach their subjects and to improve their learning of the content.

In addition, the legislation that we are reviewing would create a National Alliance of Teachers of American History and Civics to make it easier for them to use the Internet and other materials and exhibits that exist in the content of their teaching.

President Bush has taken a major interest in the teaching of American history and civics. With Mr. McCullough at his side, last fall he launched a new initiative, which we will hear more about today from Bruce Cole of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

So we have an interesting set of witnesses, a fascinating subject, and our lead-off witness is a fascinating individual.

David McCullough has several distinctions. One is that none of his books have ever been out of print. Very few authors can say that. He has won two Pulitzer Prices. He was won the National Book Award twice. He is one of America's best-known authors. Mr. McCullough, I think virtually every day of the letter you recount in the John Adams book that Adams wrote to Jefferson when our country was beginning. He said to Jefferson, "Aren't we privileged to serve our country in such serious times?" I think about that every day in these serious times, and I am sure most of our colleagues do as well.

We welcome Mrs. McCullough here. Thank you both for coming, and we look forward to your comments.

Before we begin I have a statement from Senator Murray.

[The prepared statements of Senators Alexander and Murray follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR ALEXANDER

The hearing today will address the intersection of two urgent concerns that will determine our country's future. These are also the two topics I care about the most: the education of our children and the principles that unite us as Americans.

It is time that we put the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools so our children can grow up learning what it means to be an American.

Especially when we are asking our young men and women to tight to defend our values. We need to do a better job of teaching just what those values are.

Yet, too many of our children do not know what makes America exceptional. National exams show that three-quarters of the nation's 4th, 8th and 12th graders are not proficient in civics knowledge and a third of students do not even have basic knowledge, making, them "civic illiterates."

Christopher Hitchens, in a 1998 article in Harper's, reported:

59 percent of 4th graders do not know why Pilgrims and Puritans first voyaged to America.

68 percent of 4th graders can't name the first 13 colonies.

90 percent of 8th graders can't recount anything about the debates of the constitutional convention.

Children are not learning about American history and civics because they are not being taught it. American history has been watered down, and civics is too often dropped from the curriculum entirely. Today, more than half the states don't have a requirement for students to take a course—even for one semester—in American government.

Until the 1960s, civics education, which teaches the duties of citizenship, was a regular part of the high school curriculum, but today's college graduates probably have less civics knowledge than high school graduates of 50 dears ago. Reforms, so-called, in the 60s and 70s resulted in the widespread elimination of required classes and curriculum in civics education.

To help put the teaching of American history and civics in its rightful place, I introduced legislation last month when I made my maiden speech. This legislation has nineteen co-sponsors including: Senators Reid, Gregg, Kennedy, Frist, Dodd, DeWine, Stevens, Santorum, Inhofe, Nickles, Cochran, Cornyn, Coleman, Enzi, Sessions, Warner, Murkowski, Miller, and Chambliss. We call it the "American History and Civics Act." This act creates Presidential Academies for Teachers of American History and Civics and Congressional Academies for Students of American History and Civics. These residential academies would operate for two weeks (in the case of teachers) and four weeks (for students) during the summer.

Their purpose would be to inspire better teaching and more learning of the key events, persons and ideas that shape the institutions and democratic heritage of the United States.

I have had some experience with such residential summer academies, when I was Governor of Tennessee. In 1984, we began creating Governor's schools for students and teachers. For example, there was the Governor's School for the Arts at Middle Tennessee State University and the Governor's School of International Studies at the University of Memphis as well as the Governor's School for Teachers of Writing at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, which was especially successful. Eventually there were eight Governor's Schools helping thousands of Tennessee teachers improve their skills and inspiring outstanding students to learn more about core curriculum subjects. When these teachers and students returned to their schools for the next school year, they brought with them a new enthusiasm for teaching and learning that infected their peers. Dollar for dollar, the Governor's Schools were one of the most effective and popular educational initiatives in our state's history.

States other than Tennessee have had similar success with summer residential academies. The first Governor's school was started in North Carolina in 1963 when Governor Terry Sanford established it at Salem College in Winston-Salem. Upon the establishment of the first school, several states, including Georgia, South Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee established similar schools.

For example, in 1973 Pennsylvania established Governor's Schools of Excellence, which has 14 different programs of study. As in Tennessee, students participating in the Pennsylvania Governor's School program attend academies at 8 different colleges to study everything from international studies, to health care and teaching. Also established in 1973, Virginia's Governor's School is a summer residential program for 7500 of the Cormmonwealth's most gifted students. Mississippi established its Governors School in 1981. The Mississippi University for Women hosts the program, which is designed to give students academic, creative, and leadership experiences. Every year West Virginia brings 80 of its most talented high school performing and visual arts students to West Liberty State College for a three-week residential program.

These are just a few of the more than 100 Governors' schools in 28 states—clearly the model is a good one. The legislation I propose today applies that successful model to American history and civics education at the national level by establishing Presidential and Congressional academies for students and teachers of those subjects.

Additionally, this proposed legislation authorizes the creation of a national alliance of American history and civics teachers who would be connected by the interest. The alliance would facilitate sharing of best practices in the teaching of American history and civics. It is modeled after an alliance I helped the National Geographic Society begin during the 1980's to put geography back into the American school curriculum. Tennessee and the University of Tennessee were among the first sponsors of the alliance.

This legislation creates a pilot program. Up to 12 Presidential academies for teachers and 12 Congressional Academies for students would be sponsored by educational institutions. The National Endowment for the Humanities would award 2-year renewable

grants to those institutions after a peer review process. Each grant would be subject to rigorous review after three years to determine whether the overall program should continue, expand or end. The legislation authorizes $25 million annually for the four-year pilot program.

There is a broad basis of renewed support for and interest in American history and civics in our country.

David Gordon noted in a recent issue of the Harvard Education Letter: "A 1998 survey by the nonpartisan research organization Public Agenda shoved that 84 percent of parents with school-aged children said they believe that the United States is a special country and they want schools to convey that belief to their children by teaching about its heroes and traditions. Similar numbers identified the American ideal as including equal opportunity, individual freedom, and tolerance and respect for others. Those findings were consistent across racial and ethnic groups."

Our national leadership has responded to this renewed interest. In 2000, at the initiative of Senator Byrd. Congress created grants for schools that teach American history as a separate subject within school curricula. We appropriated $100 million for those grants in the recent Omnibus appropriations bill, and rightfully so. They encourage schools and teachers to focus on the teaching of traditional American history, and provide important financial support.

Last September, with historian David McCullough at his side. President Bush announced a new initiative to encourage the teaching of American history and civics. He established the "We the People" program at the NEH, which will develop curricula and sponsor lectures on American history and civics. He announced the "Our Documents" project, run by the National Archives. This would take one hundred of America's most important documents from the National Archives to classrooms and communities across the country.

This year, he will convene a White House forum on American history, civics, and service. There, we will discuss new policies to improve the teaching of history and civics in elementary and secondary schools.

This proposed legislation takes the next step by training teachers and encouraging outstanding students. We need to foster a love of this subject and arm teachers with the skills to impart that love to their students.

Mr. President, in 1988, at a meeting of educators in Rochester, the President of Notre Dame University, Monk Malloy, asked this question: "What is the rationale for the public school?" There was an unexpected silence around the room until Al Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, answered in this way: "The public school was created to teach immigrant children the three R's and what it means to be an American with the hope that they would then go home and teach their parents."

From the founding of America, we have always understood how important it is for citizens to understand the principles that unite us as a country. Other countries are united by their ethnicity. If you move to Japan for example, you can't become Japanese. A few things in which we believe, on the other hand, unite Americans. To become an American citizen, you subscribe to those principles. If there were no agreement on those principles, as Samuel Hunting-

ton has noted, we would be the United Nations instead of the United States of America.

There has therefore been a continuous education process to remind Americans just what those principles are. Thomas Jefferson, in his retirement at Monticello, would spend evenings explaining to overnight guests what he had in mind when we helped create what we call America. By the mid-19th century it was just assumed that everybody knew what it meant to be an American. In his letter from the Alamo, Col. William Barrett Travis pleaded for help simply "in the name of liberty, patriotism and everything dear to the American character."

But the most important Americanizing institution, as Mr. Shanker reminded us in Rochester in 1988, was the new common school. McGuffey's Reader, which was used in many classrooms, sold more than 120 million copies introducing a common culture of literature, patriotic speeches and historical references.

In the 20th century it was war that made Americans stop and think about what we were defending. President Roosevelt made certain that those who charged the beaches of Normandy knew they were defending for freedoms.

But after World War II, the emphasis on teaching and defining the principles that unite us has waned. Unpleasant experiences with McCarthyism in the 1950's, discouragement after the Vietnam War, and history books that left out or distorted the history of African-Americans made sonic skittish about discussing "Americanism." The end of the Cold War removed a preoccupation with who we were not, making it less important to consider who we are. The Immigration law changes in 1965 brought to our shores many new Americans and many cultural changes. As a result, the American Way became much more often praised than defined.

Changes in community attitudes, as they always are, were reflected in our schools. According to historian Diane Ravitch, the public school virtually abandoned its role as the chief Americanizing Institution. We have gone, she explains, from one extreme (simplistic patriotism and incomplete history) to the other—"public schools with an adversary culture that emphasize the nation's warts and diminish its genuine accomplislments. There is no literary canon. There are no common readings, no agreed upon lists of books, poems and stories from which students and parents plight be taught a common culture and be reminded of what it means to be an American."

During this time many of our national leaders contributed to this drift toward agnostic Americanism. These leaders celebrated multiculturalism and bilingualism and diversity at a time when there should have been more emphasis on a common culture and learning English and unity.

America's variety and diversity is a great strength, but it is not our greatest strength, Jerusalem is diverse. The Balkans are diverse. America's greatest accomplishment is not its variety and diversity but that we have found a way to take all that variety and diversity and unite us as one country. E pluribus Unum: out of many, one. These three Latin words that were the first motto of our nation, E Pluribus Unum, are still in the right order—Out of Many, One—even though some are trying mightily to turn them

around to say that we are "Many, Out of One." In other words, in the United States of America, I believe unity still trumps diversity. That is what makes America truly exceptional.

Since 9/11 the national conversation about what it means to be an American has been different. The terrorists focused their crosshairs on the creed that unites Americans as one country—forcing us to remind ourselves of those principles, to examine and define them, and to celebrate them. The President himself has been the lead teacher. President Bush has literally taken us back to school on what it means to be an American. The President called on us to make those magnificent images of courage and charity and leadership and selflessness more permanent in our every day lives through Freedom Corps. And with his optimism, lie warded off doomsayers who tried to diminish the real gift of Americans to civilization, our cockeyed optimism that anything, is possible.

Just after 9/11, I proposed an idea I called "Pledge Plus Three." Why not start each school day with the Pledge of Allegiance—as we do here in the Senate—followed by a faculty member or student sharing for three minutes "what it means to be an American." The Pledge embodies many of the ideals of our National Creed: "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." It speaks to our unity, to our faith, to our value of freedom, and to our belief in the fair treatment of all Americans.

In Dr. Ravitch's words, instead of incomplete history and simplistic patriotism, we went to the other extreme—"Public schools with an adversary culture that emphasized the nations warts and diminished its genuine accomplishments."

So imagine the plight of teachers. Assaulted by simplistic patriotism on one side and multiculturalism on the other, teachers dove for cover, textbooks became sanitized and boring, and we've seen the embarrassing results.

Samuel Huntington has written that most of American politics and government is about balancing conflicts between the principles that unite us and dealing with the disappointments of not being able to live up to our greatest dreams.

Mr. President, if most of our politics and government is about applying to our most urgent problems the principles and characteristics that make us the exceptional United States of America, then we had better get about the teaching and learning of those principles and characteristics.

At a time when there are record numbers of new Americans, and at a time when our values are under attack, at a time when we are at war to defend those values, there can be no more urgent task than putting the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools so our children can grow tip learning what it means to be an American.

A man from Nashville who was quoted in the Public Agendas recent report, "Knowing it By Heart" put it this way: "We have to teach and remind our children about the people that sacrificed for those freedoms, from the Revolutionary War to the different wars we have. These freedoms didn't come because we're just a nice bunch of people. A lot of people put their lives and careers on the line several times through our history to get these freedoms, and we do take them for granted."

I again want to thank Senator Gregg and Senator Kennedy, for agreeing to have the committee hold this hearing today on this legislation so that we can determine how it might supplement and work with already existing programs and the Presidents future initiatives.

I look forward to hearing from the witnesses.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR MURRAY

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for holding this hearing and I also thank all of today's witnesses for taking some time to share their insights and experiences with us. I particularly want to thank Russell Berg for his thoughtful comments on the importance of civic education in our schools, and Peter Sullivan for the important work he does in educating young people about how our government works.

That's exactly what citizenship education is all about—teaching young people how our unique democracy was created, affects our lives and relies on the involvement of its citizens. Citizenship education also provides an opportunity for schools to help students understand the commonly-held values that have shaped our country. The truth is that our democracy cannot function without an informed, engaged citizenry. It requires that all of us fulfill certain civic responsibilities, whether that means volunteering time in our communities, staying informed on important issues, holding elected officials accountable or even running for office. Citizenship education passes on to the next generation respect and commitment to this fundamental basis of our democracy. While not everyone needs to be a constitutional law scholar, every American should possess a basic understanding of our history and government if they are to be active participants in self-governance. Unfortunately, citizenship education in America today is not as pervasive or as strong as it should be.

For this reason I am pleased to support the Alexander bill. Russell Berg offered us a glimpse into what strong civic education looks like. The program in which he participates and described, "We the People," is one I am familiar with. I have met with some of the educators who are involved in "We the People," and it is impressive in its breadth, depth, creativity and effectiveness. I think it would be a tremendous step forward if this kind of education were available to all America's students, and I think Senator Alexander's bill moves us in that direction.

Thank you.

STATEMENT OF DAVID McCULLOUGH, HISTORIAN AND WRITER, WEST TISBURY, MA

Mr. MCCULLOUGH. Mr. Chairman, thank you for the honor of appearing today. I look upon this as a great step forward for American history and for our children and children to come. I am extremely grateful to you, to Senator Byrd, to President Bush, Senator Kennedy, and others who have participated so far in taking what seems to me a very important step in improving the situation in our schools.

History has served many purposes, and I think it is wonderful that history now is providing you here in the Congress with some-

thing you can be bipartisan about. It should be that way. This is a need that calls for all of our efforts. In my view, the key is the teacher, but we cannot leave the entire responsibility to just the teachers. It is something we all have to address as parents, grandparents, and citizens.

I have been fortunate to be invited to universities and colleges to speak and lecture for years now, and I have been virtually in every State, on campuses large and small. And a few years ago, one morning I lectured at a major university in the Midwest. And a young woman, a student, came up to me after my talk and said she was very glad that she had come to hear me speak that morning because until she heard my talk, she had never understood that the original 13 colonies were all on the East Coast. And I was so stunned by that. I felt so sad about it. I felt so angry about it. How could she have gotten that far in our system of education to be a student on one of the campuses of one of our really important universities and not have any idea of where we began and how we began.

Very soon after that, I was taking part in a seminar, teaching a seminar at one of our Ivy League colleges. And it was a beautiful winter day and the snow was coming down outside, and I thought, This is really—this is the best. I had 25 students who were all history majors and all seniors and all honor students. And I decided that I would open the conversation by asking if anyone there knew who George Marshall was. Not one knew who he was. Finally, one student ventured to say, Did he have maybe something to do with the Marshall Plan? And we then could begin talking about George Marshall.

Once, in his advanced years, George Marshall said that he thought that his education at Virginia Military Institute had been quite inadequate. He felt he had been badly educated, and he was asked why. He said, "Because we were taught no history."

So I felt something had come sort of full circle there. We are doing a dreadful job of teaching history to our children. We are raising a generation of young Americans who, to a very large degree, are historically illiterate. The Council of American Alumni just did a survey a year or so ago and found that the students on our top 50 campuses on a general knowledge of history test or survey scored about what they did in high school 20 years ago.

I will give you one example. Question 19: Who was the commanding officer at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown? More than half the students guessed that it was Ulysses S. Grant, more answered George Washington, and 6 percent said it was Douglas MacArthur. They were guessing. They had no idea.

Now, what difference does it make if you do not know who the commanding American general at Yorktown was? It means that you do not have any idea that that was the last battle of the Revolutionary War. The Revolutionary War was the longest war in our history except for Vietnam; that George Washington was the commanding general all through the war—you probably have no idea of that—and that he had served 8 and a half years without ever taking any time off and without pay; and that if it had not been for George Washington, we would not have won the Revolutionary War, certainly not when we did, or as we did. And if it were not

for George Washington, we probably would not have a Constitution such as we have nor a Presidency such as we have.

Now, I was raised in the day when George Washington's portrait hung in every classroom along with Abraham Lincoln, when our geography courses began with the study of the Tigris and Euphrates and the beginnings of history and civilization in present-day Iraq, and we graduated from grade school, I am convinced, knowing more basic American history and geography than many students on university campuses know today.

I have been involved with something called the National Council for History Education, and our program has been to bring teachers to a campus once a year in the summertime, some 200 teachers, and a number of people volunteer their time to go and work with the teachers, try to get them involved with the processes of history, to catch the excitement of history so that they will carry that back to the classroom.

It has been a very effective program in what it does to help those teachers, but it has been less than a drop in the bucket. And when I think of the potential, when I think of what can be done, that is what is so exciting. This can really make a huge difference.

There was a marvelous child psychologist, teacher, professor of child psychology at the University of Pittsburgh years ago named Margaret McFarland, and Margaret McFarland's disciples are all over the country, and thank goodness. And her most famous disciple was Fred Rogers, Mister Rogers, who reached more children, taught more children, than anybody who has ever lived. And Fred Rogers would say to anyone who was interested that all he was doing was to carry on the principles and the ideals of Margaret McFarland.

And Margaret McFarland's thesis was very simple: that what matters to a student and what matters in education is attitude; and that attitudes are not taught, they are caught; and if the teacher is enthusiastic about her material, if the teacher knows her subject, if the teacher gets up in front of the class or calls you over to the table and says, "Look in this microscope, this is really great, you are going to like to see this," that teacher is conveying an attitude that the students get right away.

Conversely, if the teacher is bored with the subject, if the teacher does not know anything about the subject, and if the teacher has no affection, love, enthusiasm for the subject, the student gets that.

My feeling, sir, is that the real effort, the real concentration ought to be placed on grade school teachers. We have to reteach our teachers. We have to revise how we are teaching our teachers. We have great teachers in this country, many of them. But we have too many teachers who are coming out of schools of education, majoring in education, with degrees in education, who are then told that they are going to teach botany or history or physics, and they do not know botany, history, or physics. They have not majored in that subject. And it is not just that they do not have the knowledge; they do not have the affection, the love for the material to want to share this world that they know.

Now, we cannot function as a society if we do not know who we are and do not know where we came from and how we got to where we are. Jefferson said it perfectly in one sentence. He said, "Any

Nation that expects to be ignorant and free expects what never was and never will be."

The importance of history has been repeated again and again and again, and often by some of our most prominent leaders. Harry Truman said, "The only new thing in the world is the history you do not know." Daniel Boorstin, Dr. Billington's predecessor and one of our front-rank historians, said, "Anybody who tries to plan for the future without a sense of the past, that is like trying to plant cut flowers." And we are raising cut flowers, and it is not their faults. It is our faults. And it should not just make us sad. It should make us a little angry and a little worried.

If a child grows up not knowing what a demagogue is, if a child grows up thinking this is the darkest time we have ever been in, they are not going to be able to cope as they should as a citizen, as a participant in self-government.

We heard that after September 11th, people saying, We should have known better, on television and in the press, this is the darkest, most dangerous time we have ever been through. Well, anybody who says that has no sense of history. We have been through much worse times. We have been through more dangerous times. We have been through times when the outcome was far less clear, far less certain.

One of the most important things to convey in teaching history is that history is about human beings, it is about people who did not know everything and certainly did not know any more than we do how it is going to come out. And it is joining that human experience of the past and the understanding of human nature, the understanding of cause and effect, the understanding that one individual can truly make a difference that is the real value of history.

Yes, it is very important that we understand, for example, why we have an independent judiciary, let us say, or a three-part system of Government. That is extremely important. We ought to have required courses in the Constitution in all our universities in this country, in my view,and I wonder if you know how many universities or colleges require a course in the Constitution. Three. And you know what those three are? The Air Force Academy, West Point, and Annapolis.

Now, if an officer in the military ought to know the Constitution, surely we as citizens ought to know the Constitution. And we do not.

What we do not know is infinitely greater, what our oncoming generation does not know about the past is infinitely greater than even the worst of these studies reveal. You know, more than half of the college student seniors in our best universities could not say when Abraham Lincoln was President. When you have Ivy League students saying they thought that Germany and Japan were our allies in World War II, you know you have got a very serious problem. And it is curable. Teach the teachers. Involve the teachers in the intellectual and emotional and human excitement of history.

If we can just convey that the people who created this country were not gods, they were not icons, they were human beings, and yet they could rise to the occasion and do what they did despite their imperfections, their flaws, their grievous mistakes on some occasions, we can, too. Again, Jefferson said it right in the very

first line of the Declaration of Independence: "When in the course of human events..." The key word is "human." And they were not perfect, and they knew that what they had done was not perfect, that this is an ongoing experiment, an ongoing creative process and we all have to take part in that spirit. And if a student comes out of a course in American history knowing only that, that course will be of infinite value.

In the midst of the darkest days of World War II, after Pearl Harbor, when half of our fleet had been destroyed, when we had no Air Force to speak of, when our recruits were drilling with wooden rifles, and Hitler was almost at Moscow, and German submarines were sinking our ships off of the coast of Florida and New Jersey at will, our oil tankers, Winston Churchill came across the Atlantic and gave a very great speech in which he said, "We haven't journeyed this far because we are made of sugar candy." And Winston Churchill, along with everything else, was a historian.

Thank you, sir.

Senator ALEXANDER. Thank you, Mr. McCullough.

Now, may I ask this question? We are talking about today about the possibility of creating, let's say, a 2-week summer residential program for teachers of American history and civics. And let's say it is in Massachusetts, which is your home State, where you live. And let's say a major university would like to be the host; we have dormitories that are not full in the summer, we have the facilities, we want to be a part of this. And Bruce Cole and the National Endowment for the Humanities liked the application of this Massachusetts university and gave them some Federal money. They select, 200 Massachusetts teachers. And let's say they are not just teachers of Massachusetts history or American history; they are first grade and second and third and fourth, fifth, sixth, they are teachers all the way through K-12 on the theory that every teacher ought to teach some American history as a part of a curriculum.

And let's say they met for 2 weeks in June, and you found yourself in charge of those teachers for 10 days. They came there and lived at that university. What would you do with them? How would you help them become more effective teachers and to learn more about the key events and persons and institutions that have created our Government?

Mr. MCCULLOUGH. Well, first of all, I think that would be marvelous, and I would try to take advantage as much as possible of two great—three great Federal institutions already in place, all ready to play a big part: the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and the National Park Service.

I am not affiliated with a university. I have no access to a university library except as a guest. I have done most of my work, most of my career has been possible because of the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and the National Park Service, where there are infinite resources and, importantly, marvelous staff people.

I would first of all try to set up some program with the Library of Congress and the National Archives whereby these teachers can understand how you do research through electronic means, getting original documents and the like through the Archives and the Li-

brary of Congress, not just so that they will have these items to use in thejr classrooms but because they will catch the bacillus, the bug of history in doing the research, the excitement of it, get them involved in the detective casework of history. And it never fails. Never fails.

And if it is Massachusetts, it would be ideal. I would have them come to the Adams House as a guest of the Park Service for that day, set up a tent, whatever you wish, and I would ask somebody—maybe me—to come and talk to them about John Adams. I would. I would invite David McCullough to come and talk about John Adams. [Laughter.]

And then we would tour the house, and we would use the house, in effect, as kind of a lab for the day.

Senator ALEXANDER. This is in Cambridge?

Mr. MCCULLOUGH. No. It is in Quincy, MA.

Senator ALEXANDER. Quincy.

Mr. MCCULLOUGH. And I think we have to bring the lab technique to the teaching of the humanities far more than we have done. I think that is the way people really learn, and instead of being in a science laboratory looking at a model of a trilobite or something, you are on the grounds of the Adams House, and you are going through the Adams House with all its real possessions, real items. The Adams House is like a geological cross-cut, not just of a family history but of American history, two Presidents' home right there.

I would then take them to see—obviously I would go to the Minuteman National Park at Concord and Lexington. Then I would take them to the Longfellow House, which is also a national park site, which was Washington's headquarters during the Revolution, during the siege of Boston. And so in those three sites, they could get a big banquet of American history focused on the Revolutionary War era, such as you could not get anywhere else in the world—free. It is all there. The park historians are there to talk, and the park historians are superb. The site is there. And they are not only affected by this, influenced by it, but then when they in turn can bring their students to those sites, then their part in the school trip becomes infinitely more exciting and meaningful for the children. Everybody benefits.

We have all had the experience—I hope we have all had the experience of being taken as a child either on a school trip or by parents or friends of parents or whatever to one of our national historic sites—a battlefield, Presidential home—and there they are. They are all there waiting to be used for just this kind of a purpose.

So I think if we could set something up like that in Massachusetts it would be ideal. And you would not even have to have them stay in a university campus. I mean, the number of teachers in, let's say, a 40-mile radius of the Adams House or the Minuteman National Park at Concord and Lexington, it would be enormous.

Senator ALEXANDER. Now, someone might say, well, that is great for Massachusetts, but not every State has such a wealth of historical sites. What would you say to them?

Mr. MCCULLOUGH. I would say that almost every State in the country has such a site. Thirty-four Presidents, Presidential sites,

almost every President, battlefields, and not just political or military sites. Edison's laboratory at Menlo Park is a national historic site. Up and down the line. And if you cannot do that, then there are other ways to do it, which is to take them to sites that are State parks, State historical society sites, or take them to a repository of some exciting documentary material, primary source material.

One summer, for example, we ran a program in Ohio, and the teachers who were taking part in this National Council for History Education worked with original documents relating to the Underground Railroad. And they were so excited that when the 2 weeks were up, they did not want to leave; they did not want to go home. They had more work to do on their project.

There, again, Margaret McFarland's thesis, they can bring that back to the classroom, that excitement. She said, "Show them what you love." That is the way to teach: show them what you love.

Senator ALEXANDER. One of Tennessee's most interesting teachers is John Rice Irwin, who created the Museum of Appalachia, which celebrates the way mountain people lived many years ago. But his thesis is what you just said. He will remind students in an area who might think they have grown up in the mountains and not have as much as someone who grows up in Massachusetts that they, in fact, have a rich heritage. And he will take them to Roane County, which is just 30 miles away, and say, "Sam Rayburn was born here." And he will drive 10 more miles and say, "Cordell Hull and Albert Gore, Sr., were born here, and Hull was Gore's teacher." And then over here was Howard Baker and over here Mark Twain's father lived. And by bringing all of that to life, he helps students and teachers in that area see that they do not have to go very far to have a rich and interesting course in American history.

May I switch gears just a little bit. Here is a comment that a panel participant made at a recent meeting of the National Council of Social Studies. He said, "We need to de-exceptionalize the United States. We are just another country and another group of people." This came in response to a question from a teacher who wanted to learn more about American history after 9/11.

We are talking about American history. Maybe we are jumping over something. Maybe we ought to step back and say, Why American history? I mean, is America really exceptional? And if so, in what way? Because there are some who answer that question, no, it is not.

Mr. MCCULLOUGH. I would love to answer that question at length but cannot this morning. Yes, we are exceptional. Yes, the American story is exceptional, has been from the beginning. And everyone, almost everyone who participated in it from the beginning sensed that or knew that or said that.

The American Revolution was the first successful revolution of a colonial people breaking lose from the empire and establishing their own Government ever in history, the first Government to succeed as a self-governing people. Our hope and promise that we have given to the world, despite incongruities, inconsistencies, injustices, failures, disappointments, has continued from the beginning—as Lincoln said, the last best hope. And we have proven

again and again that we mean what we say and that we have been willing to sacrifice in order to sustain the experiment, the dream.

And to just say, well, we are not exceptional is really to denigrate so much that has been done for us by our predecessors. We are all the beneficiaries of those exceptional people who went before us, who had the ingenuity, who had the courage, who had the selfless response to the possibilities of self-government. And we must never take it for granted. We must never fail to not just honor and respect but learn from them, because so much of what they did was for our benefit. They wanted us—we have always been a country that was trying to improve itself, to become better. And we have been inclusive from the beginning.

You could go to France, Senator, tomorrow and live there for the rest of your life, and you would never be a Frenchman. You could have gone there when you were 15, and you would never be a Frenchman, ever. If you were in France and you came here and settled here and became a citizen, you are an American, because it is open to all and it is opportunity for everyone as much as any society that has ever existed in all of history.

Senator ALEXANDER. I have one last question, and then we will allow you to get on with your schedule, and we will go to other witnesses. You lead me to it. We have talked about how, for a variety of reasons, we have not focused on the teaching of American history. Perhaps one reason is because teachers have not learned it or they have not caught the attitude that helps them impart this attitude of teaching. I think there may be another reason that teachers may not teach American history. I think many of them are afraid to. They are reluctant to because, in their words, it has become controversial. We have, on the one hand, super patriots, and we have, on the other hand, a politically correct crowd. And so, for example, Thomas Jefferson owned slaves, that is a subject that a teacher may be reluctant to discuss. Or many teachers are reluctant to discuss the religious nature of our country because they hear that we cannot teach religion in schools. Many teachers may be afraid to discuss a whole variety of issues because they are controversial or because they have conflicts. Some schools have even gone so far as to take the names of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson off the school because they owned slaves.

What would you say to teachers who are afraid to wade into controversial territory in American history? What would your advice to them be?

Mr. MCCULLOUGH. I would say read history and you will understand the controversy and differences of opinion, and various forms of coercion have been part of the story from the beginning. There is nothing new about this kind of difference of opinion, contradiction, conflict. It has always been there, from the beginning. And if we have reached the State where we are afraid to teach our own history, that is as sad a comment as I can imagine.

I think there are three great needs in the teaching of history. The first is we have to revise how we are teaching our teachers.

The second is we have to do something about the textbooks, which are, by and large, deadly. Some of them, they seem to have been written almost as if for the purpose of killing anyone's interest in history. If somebody said to you, "You have got to go home

and read this book tonight for 2 hours," you would probably say after you had read maybe for 15 minutes, "Why am I being punished this way?"

We should have them reading what we would want to read, and the argument that students, children today do not want to read has been blown right out of the water by Harry Potter. When you see an 8-year-old sit down a read a 700-page book for the pleasure of reading, you know that there is nothing adverse about their attitude toward reading.

And the third thing is not to put all the burden of responsibility on the teachers. We have to assume responsibility. We have to talk about history in front of our children, with our children, our grandchildren. We have to take them to national parks and historic sites and talk about the books that we have read, talk about the people in history who have interested us, who have been our heroes. Make it part of conversation in the family. Set the example at home.

Senator ALEXANDER. Well, David McCullough, thank you not just for being here today, but helping a whole Nation catch an attitude about American history. Your narrative of John Adams is the most recent example of that and captured the imagination of Americans who knew about John Adams but had no idea of all you told about him—you told a wonderful story. I hope we can work together with other members of the U.S. Senate and Congress and teachers to find ways to inspire the teaching of American history. We appreciate your coming this morning.

Mr. MCCULLOUGH. Thank you, sir.

Senator ALEXANDER. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Now, before our second panel—our second panel includes Bruce Cole, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities; Dr. Gene Hickok, the Under Secretary of Education; Dr. Jim Billington, the Librarian of Congress. Before they come to the table, I want to ask Senator Robert Byrd if he will—invite him to make a statement.

While he is coming, it is customary for Senators to compliment one another. I have learned that even in 3 months of being in the Senate. But in this case, Senator Byrd actually deserves it. He is a historian himself. He reads history. He writes history. He loves history. He has caught the attitude of history. He speaks on it on the Senate floor, and he, above all Senators, has through his work in the Senate encouraged the teaching of traditional American history.

Senator Byrd, thank you for being here this morning.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT BYRD, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

Senator BYRD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is a great honor and a privilege and a rare experience to be able to start the day as this day has been started in this room, to hear one of the greatest of American historians, David McCullough, and to listen to him. He is not only a great historian, but he has helped to change the course of history.

Back in 1977, when I became the Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate and Howard Baker, a statesman, as well as a good politician, was the Minority Leader, the subject before the country was

the Panama Canal Treaty. And the country was very much opposed to a new treaty, according to the polls. I was very much opposed to a new treaty. The people of West Virginia were very much opposed. And I made speeches in West Virginia, made statements—they are in print, and I am confronted with them, have been in every subsequent election—in which I said, no, we should not have a new treaty.

I read David McCullough's book, "The Path Between the Seas." It is a fascinating book. The title is an excellent title, but somewhat misleading in that one does not feel what is in that book by simply reading the title. But that book helped to change my position on the Panama Canal Treaty. I read the book. It was so fascinating I could hardly get away from reading it to eat some of my wife's good cooking. But there is a book that changed the course of history.

Now, I changed my viewpoint, and Howard Baker, who was the Minority Leader, as I said earlier, changed his viewpoint. And Howard Baker, you should have his name on the reception room in the U.S. Senate, where there are some great Senators, all-time great Senators—perhaps not all-time but certainly all in the history of this Republic. And it took a statesman to do that. It took a high-quality statesman. He looked and he read, and we both went to Panama. We did not go on the same trip. We went separately to see for ourselves the canal.

But what I want to say here is here was a book that helped in great measure to change the course of history, and we carried those two treaties by not only the two-thirds vote that is required by the Constitution, but two-thirds plus one vote in the case of each treaty. And we sailed upstream. We went against the grain. And I say this to applaud the man who wrote that fascinating history. And he came down to the Senate at that time and talked with me and with other Senators. So he took an active part in changing history, changing the course of this country for the better. And I want to congratulate him once again. I have done it many times, and he is a great American, and I have been greatly inspired by him on many occasions.

I believe in teaching history. Social studies are fine in their place, but I believe in history, teaching history and reading history.

I grew up at a time in American history when we read in the 7th and 8th grades, 9th grade, Muzzey's history, and I have Muzzey at my house. I remember the first sentence in Muzzey's book: "America is the child of Europe." That is the first sentence.

Now, Muzzey might have been driven out of town in this day because that might not have been smart politics. But I will take Muzzey any day over political correctness. America is the child of Europe. So I studied American history. I often talk to the pages in the Senate, and I say, "How many of you know about Nathan Hale? Hold up your hands. How many of you know about Nathan Hale?" Sometimes there would be one hand; sometimes there would be none. And, occasionally, I am pleased to see two or three hands go up.

Well, who was Nathan Hale? He was that patriot who, on September 22, 1776, gave his life. He was arrested as a spy for volunteering—he volunteered when George Washington, the greatest

President who ever lived, and who ever will live probably, George Washington asked for volunteers to go behind the British lines to bring back drawings of fortifications, and he went. He gave his life. And the night before he was to return to the American lines, he was arrested, and the drawings were in his clothing.

The next morning he was hauled up before a gallows, a crude gallows, and there before the gallows was a roughly hewn wood coffin. He knew that his body would soon lie in that coffin. And when the British captain, whose name was Cunningham, asked Nathan Hale, "Is there anything you would like to say?" Those immortal words: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." And the British captain said, "String the rebel up."

Well, Muzzey gave me my heroes. American history gave me my heroes. My heroes are not among the rock musicians. Even my good musicians are not among the rock musicians. I like the Grand Ole Opry and bluegrass boys. I used to listen to the Grand Ole Opry, my wife and I, Grand Ole Opry.

American history ought to be taught today. Muzzey, perhaps you ought to go back to Muzzey. You did not find many pictures. There were not many pictures in Muzzey's history, just a few. It was full of text. And I memorized my history at night by the light of an old oil lamp on Wolf Creek Hollow in Mercer County, southern West Virginia. I memorized my lessons because I had a great man who raised me. His name was Titus Dalton Byrd, and he and his wonderful wife did not have much of a education, but they felt that they ought to reward this boy that they had adopted. And they always looked at my report card, and one of the first things my dad—I called him my dad; he was the only dad I ever knew. One of the first things he looked for on that report card was designated "deportment." And if that did not show up very well, which it always did in my case, of course, I knew what the razor strap would be like.

I had a wonderful teacher in a two-room school. His name was Archie Akers. And I lived in a house where there was no running water, no electricity, and each morning Archie Akers would come by my house and we would walk together to the school. And I would talk with him about history, the history lesson. I loved it. I memorized those history lessons.

Then when I moved to a coal-mining community, the principal of that school learned that I knew a lot about American history and that I memorized history. He took me up before the senior class. I was just in the 5th grade. He took me up before the senior class and had me repeat the words in American history that I had memorized.

As I say, there is where many a young person in America received his education with respect to American history, and there is where he found his heroes.

So I am honored today to come before your committee and especially honored by being able to listen to David McCullough. And we have a great Librarian of Congress here, too, Dr. Billington. And I have been privileged to visit with him over these years.

Well, I have taken about all the time that you expected me to take. May I just read from—I will ask the committee if it will include my prepared statement.

Senator ALEXANDER. Of course, Senator Byrd.

Senator BYRD. Let me just read from a speech which I made a few years back at West Virginia University. These are the closing paragraphs. You would not want me to repeat the whole speech, or we would be here quite a while. But it goes like this:

"As a Nation, we are all guilty of abominably lax vigilance over our responsibilities, Members of Congress who cower at the slightest criticism and who do not even both to study and understand the document that they take a solemn oath to support and defend; Presidents eager to grab power, to make their mark on history larger; representatives of the media who would report significant events without really understanding them because they do not understand history; talk-show demagogues who rail over the airways while they generate ill-informed and destructive anger; and ordinary citizens who do not even bother to vote."

"Let us remember the words of John Philpot Curran, the Irish orator and statesman who commented that, 'The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance, which condition if he breaks servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt.'"

Now, I went on to say, "Those of us who teach, those of us educated in the discipline of law, those of us who purport to serve the public in some capacity have a special responsibility to make others sensitive to the importance of every citizen's role in preserving our freedoms. But we can all do more, and we must. We started this day," I said, "with a most disturbing poll. Let us close with the results of a study which may shed some useful light upon at least one possible reason why such ignorance about our Constitution exists."

I refer to the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation's first ever appraisal of State standards for history in 38 States, published in February of 1998. This is a brand-new study which points out something that I have believed for quite a while. Let me quote from the foreword of the study on its general findings about how 38 States are doing in the effort to teach history to our grade school and high school students, and I quote—this is from the Fordham study. "The vast majority of young Americans are attending school in States that do not consider the study of history to be especially important. No doubt some children are learning lots of solid history from excellent teachers in fine schools. Their good fortune, however, appears to be serendipitous. State standards rarely constitute a ceiling on what can be taught and learned. But it is not unreasonable to view them as the floor below which no child or school should fall. When it comes to history, most States have placed that floor where the sub-basement ought to be. In only a few instances in history itself, the focus of the State academic standards that pertain to it, in most jurisdictions history remains mired in a curricular swamp called social studies."

This is Robert Byrd talking again now. "We can correct this deplorable treatment of history in our schools and we must. For only with a thorough knowledge of history can we ever expect our people to appreciate the gift of the Framers or the experience and the struggles going back centuries which combine to make us free. Only with a citizenry that understands its responsibilities in a re-

public, not a democracy, in a republic such as ours can we ever expect to elect office holders with the intelligence to represent the people well, the honesty to deal with them truthfully, and the determination to effectively promote the people's interest and preserve their liberties, no matter what the personal and political consequences. We can build upon the respect and reverence we still hold for our Constitution, but we better start now before, through ignorance and apathy, even that much slips away from us."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I close by thanking you and the members of the subcommittee for conducting this hearing. I do not know of any greater service we could render our Nation than that of promoting—and we are in positions to do it—the study of American history. When I think about those 38 signers of the Constitution, I think about what they taught and how they sacrificed, and the dangers they put themselves in by what they did and giving us a Declaration of Independence, considering those who wrote it and signed it would have been declared treasonous and could have been taken to England and hanged, and then the Constitution, the 38 signers.

I will close by saying that Cicero said to remain ignorant before you were born is to remain always a child. And let me close by saying this: This Constitution, Mr. Chairman, if we could find some way to begin teaching, the re-teaching, the review of American history to our colleagues, the Members of the U.S. Senate and the Members of the House of Representatives, we would perform a great service indeed. As I say this to you—now, this may offend some, but it is the truth, in my judgment. When only 23 Senators cast a vote against shifting the power to declare war to a Chief Executive of a Nation, something is wrong. Twenty-three Senators. Study that Constitution which gives the Congress the power to declare war.

This may be a little like teaching history, American history, and it may offend some. But the truth is there. The truth will always stand.

I thank you for what you are doing.

Senator ALEXANDER. Thank you, Senator Byrd, very much for joining our hearing. To have it begin with Mr. McCullough and with you is the best possible way we could start. Thanks for your leadership.

[The prepared statement of Senator Byrd may be found in additional material.]

Senator ALEXANDER. I will ask Dr. Cole and Dr. Hickok and Dr. Billington if they will come to the table now, and we will hear from them.

Senator BYRD. I apologize to those who are going to be witnesses before the committee now that I will have to go. I have to attend another committee hearing. Thank you very much for what you gentlemen are doing.

Senator ALEXANDER. We have a third panel of witnesses, and they may be setting their watches because I know they all have schedules as well. We will finish this panel before 11 o'clock, and that will give us a chance for Dr. Ravitch and others to testify and answers questions in time to leave.

Our first witness is—and let me suggest in each case, we would be glad to hear your statements, but you would be welcome to summarize them in any way you would like, and then we can have questions and answers. This is an extremely distinguished panel representing three agencies that have the most to do with providing resources to teachers and schools and others who want to learn more about American history and civics. And our mission is to shovel all this wonderful information out to the classroom and put it in front of the students and put it in the hands of the teachers so it can be used.

Our first witness is Bruce Cole, who is Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. He has a distinguished resume. He himself is an author. He has written 14 different books. He has new, important roles in helping with President Bush's initiative on American history and civics.

Dr. Cole, rather than give you a long introduction, I am going to thank you for coming and let you take the time to tell us how the National Endowment for Humanities might help.

STATEMENTS OF BRUCE COLE, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES; EUGENE W. HICKOK, UNDER SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION; AND JAMES H. BILLINGTON, THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Mr. COLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, for the opportunity to testify today.

This hearing helps raise awareness of an important issue—the need to increase and enhance knowledge and understanding of American history.

It is crucial that we understand the principles, events, and ideas that have defined our past and that will shape our future. Democracy, unlike other forms of government, is not self-perpetuating. Its ideas and principles must be taught and transmitted. Indeed, we cannot defend what we do not understand. But even as our country is at war, numerous studies indicate that many students lack even a basic knowledge of their country's past.

I will give you just a few examples:

A recent survey of students enrolled at 55 of our Nation's most elite colleges and universities found that 54 percent of our brightest young people thought Abraham Lincoln was President before 1860, before the Civil War. More than a third of these students could not identify the Constitution as establishing our Government's division of powers.

At the secondary school level, the National Assessment of Educational Progress test found that over half of all high school seniors scored "below basic"—that is, below the bare minimum level of proficiency in history. To illustrate what this means, 18 percent of seniors thought Germany was a U.S. ally in World War II; around two-thirds could not identify who we fought with or against.

In speaking to various groups, I have called this loss of memory and lack of understanding of our history "our American amnesia." The consequences are serious. Citizens who do not know their rights are less likely to protect them. And if young Americans cannot recall whom we fought, and whom we fought alongside, during

World War II, there is no reason to expect that they will long remember what happened on September 11th.

As Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, one of my top priorities for the agency and its able staff is to address this challenge of American amnesia. We are aiming to do this through a new initiative called "We the People."

On Constitution Day, 2002, in a special Rose Garden ceremony, President Bush announced the launch of the "We the People" initiative to be spearheaded by the NEH. "We the People" is designed to broaden and deepen Americans' knowledge of their Nation's history. We are honored that the President has chosen the Endowment to play a leadership role in the administration's American history and civics initiative, and we look forward to serving in this capacity. This initiative is an important part of the President's USA Freedom Corps, which is working to promote a culture of active, engaged citizens who have a better understanding of their democratic traditions and their duty to serve our communities and country.

NEH's "We the People" initiative aims to cultivate an enhanced understanding of American history among students, teachers, and the public at large. We will enlist the efforts of scholars, professors, curators, librarians, filmmakers, and others engaged in a wide variety of projects, including the creation of model history curricula, the digitization and dissemination of historical documents, the expansion of our acclaimed summer seminars for school teachers, and new programs that bring history to our citizens.

Already, the Endowment has undertaken several exciting efforts as part of this initiative. This year, we launched a nationwide solicitation of grant applications to address "We the People" themes and topics. On May 1st, we will host the inaugural "Heroes of History" lecture, featuring acclaimed historian Robert Remini, who was authorized by the House of Representatives to write its official history. In addition, we recently held the first "Idea of America" essay contest where more than 1,300 high school juniors submitted essays on key events in American history.

I should also mention that on May 15th, the NEH will present the Thirty-Second Annual Jefferson Lecture, delivered by the distinguished historian David McCullough. As you may have gathered from his remarks this morning, he is not only a first-rate scholar but also a leading champion of American history.

Each of these NEH efforts aims at enhancing and increased knowledge and understanding of American history among teachers, students, and the general public.

This hearing is another important step. I want to express my appreciation to Senator Alexander for his work to address this issue, both in his home State of Tennessee and from the Capitol. He has been an effective and dedicated advocate for excellent in education, and I look forward to working with him toward that shared goal.

The American History and Civics Education Act authorizes the establishment of Presidential academies for teaching history content to teachers and congressional academies for teaching history to gifted students. It would place the responsibility for selecting those academies within the purview of the NEH and its highly respected merit review system.

It is a truism of teaching that one cannot teach what one does not know. As someone whose life was changed by the inspired teaching of a professor, I can attest to the transformative power of quality teaching. But studies also show that secondary school history teachers receive less instruction and training in their discipline than any other subject except physics. In fact, one recent Department of Education study found that 58 percent of high school history teachers neither majored nor minored in history.

There are many reasons for this "content gap" in history teaching. Many education schools focus more on the theory and methods of teaching rather than on the key documents, events, and figures of our history. The emphasis that Senator Alexander, Senator Byrd, Under Secretary Hickok, James Billington, and others have placed on teaching actual history, as opposed to pedagogy, is exactly right.

Our challenge is clear: We need to enhance and extend the teaching of history to teachers so they can pass it on to their students.

One way in which the NEH addresses this challenge is through its widely respected summer seminars and institutes for school teachers. Each seminar or institute is selected by the NEH's rigorous merit review system and concentrates on teaching the teachers history and humanities content. In the testimonials we have received, many teachers have claimed that the experience was extremely helpful and rewarding and that learning more about a subject naturally enabled them to teach it more effectively.

Mr. Chairman, the administration and the NEH share your concern with ensuring that our Nation's history is well understood by teachers, students, and all citizens. The ideas, ideals, and institutions that founded and form our Nation should be well and widely taught. With nearly 40 years of experience as the Federal Government's agency for advancing education, scholarship, public programs, and preservation in history and the humanities, NEH is well positioned to contribute to this important effort.

Again, I want to express my appreciation for the willingness of this committee to address the issue of American amnesia, for the work and experience Senator Alexander has invested in this legislation, and for the opportunity to testify today. I would be glad to answer any questions.

Senator ALEXANDER. Thank you, Dr. Cole. Am I correct that you have until about 10:45? Is that right?

Mr. COLE. Right.

Senator ALEXANDER. Well, why don't we go on to Dr. Hickok and Dr. Billington and then we will bring this panel to a conclusion about 10:45.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Cole may be found in additional material.]

Senator ALEXANDER. Dr. Hickok, the Under Secretary of Education, also has a distinguished resume for his work as Pennsylvania's Secretary of Education. We are delighted to have him with us today. The Department of Education supervises a number of activities and programs that have to do with the encouraging of the teaching of history, of American history and civics. Dr. Hickok?

Mr. HICKOK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and good morning. Let me first of all State it is somewhat humbling to sit at the same

table where Senator Byrd just made his presentation and, before that, the eminent historian David McCullough. It is one of the great benefits of a job like this. You get a chance to hear some incredible words from incredible people. It is also very humbling to share the table with these two gentlemen, who have long and distinguished careers of contributing through public service and private service to the next generation of America.

I on a personal note want to say how much what you are attempting to do and what we are talking about today means to me because, long before I entered public service, I was a college professor and devoted my scholarship and my teaching to the importance of American constitutionalism and American constitutional history. I would point out that there is a statute of Nathan Hale outside the Justice Department where I once worked. Most people probably could not tell you that. I am hopeful now that most people now know who Nathan Hale is, at least the people in this room.

I am also here to point out that the Department of Education has a lot going on, in large measure because of the work of this body, to promote informed teaching of American history. The Teaching American History program, $100 million, is dedicated toward trying to make sure that America's teachers understand the fundamentals and can teach the fundamentals of American history using original documents, working with colleagues, working with faculty from higher education and other institutions, community organizations. The goal of this is professional development in its truest sense, and it is urgently needed.

As my colleague Dr. Cole said, the majority of America's history teachers did not major or minor in history, and I think if the truth be told, they were not hired to be history teachers. Most of them were hired to teach other things or to be coaches. American history has not been a high priority in America's schools, and I think America suffers because of that, especially at this time, this very, very challenging and unique time in our history.

The Teaching American History program then is dedicated to the proposition that we need to do something as a nation about that. It is a long and difficult challenge, but the purpose of the program, perhaps one teacher at a time, is to change the course of the way we teach history so that lives in the future are better informed about what this Nation is all about, has been all about, the idea of America, and, more importantly, we will be better prepared to make sure that idea continues long after all of us are gone.

In addition to the Teaching American History program, we do civic education, every bit as important, certainly not unrelated to the importance of understanding of American history. Under the Civic Education program, we work with the "We the People" program that does The Citizen and the Constitution and Project Citizen.

The Citizen and the Constitution project is a competition in many ways, high school and junior high school, middle school, the goal of which is to get students engaged in understanding, and not just in a superficial way but in a reasoned, articulate, in-depth way, some of the most important issues in American civics and history. They grapple with these issues in competitions at the local and State level, and their final competition is held here in DC. I

have attended it. You would be, I am sure, stunned with the quality of the competition and the ability of some of these people to make the arguments they make and be able to debate with such insight and in many ways wisdom far beyond their years. The competition is truly impressive.

The disappointing thing about the competition is even though it might be thousands of kids, there are millions of kids who need to be a part of that competition. So whatever we can do as a nation to instill in this country a sense of the importance of civic education through programs such as The Citizen and the Constitution, we need to continue to do.

I want to close. I think it is more important we have conversation. I would mention two things. On a personal note, about 10 years ago I was lucky enough to visit the Baltic republics that were struggling at the time to achieve their independence from the then-Soviet Union. I was there to talk with the emerging leaders about their emerging constitutions. I mention that because I was fortunate to get a sense coming home of how important it is for a free people to remember the source of their freedom.

I remember sitting with a gentleman who later became the Minister of Finance in Lithuania and how he sat across the table from me and said, "How do you invent private property? How do you find the invisible hand? How do you create a democracy among a people who do not know how to govern themselves?" And it struck me I had no answer for that, except I knew that we as a nation had been able to do that because we have never lost touch with how we created our system of economy, our Government, etc.

I fear that we as a nation need to address the teaching of history and civics with a sense of urgency because I never want my children or my grandchildren to be asking the kind of question that was asked of me almost a decade ago.

I would leave with this one thought, going back to something that Senator Byrd referenced, the Declaration of Independence. The last line of that document should ring in the hearts of every citizen in a republic. That last line talks about how those who signed the document pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

The future of this Nation will always rely upon individuals willing to do exactly that, and if we are not about the business of making sure that our young people, from elementary school through college, and not just students but all of our citizens, if we are not about the task of making sure they understand American history and the obligations and opportunities of American citizenship, then we will not be able to make sure the legacy that is established in the Declaration continues. That is how urgent our task is, and I thank the chairman for making sure that we are about that task.

Thank you.

Senator ALEXANDER. Thank you, Dr. Hickok.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hickok may be found in additional material.]

Senator ALEXANDER. Thank you. All three of you have rearranged your schedules and are very busy with other responsibilities, and I am grateful to you for coming, Dr. Billington. I know that you have—and I appreciate your arranging to be here.

Dr. James Billington is the 13th person, only the 13th person to ever be the Librarian of Congress. He has been that since 1987. To use Mr. McCullough's words, he certainly has caught the attitude of American history and has a treasure trove of information there that we all can use.

Dr. Billington, we look forward to hearing from you.

Mr. BILLINGTON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and it is a privilege to be able to testify on this subject that is so important to the future of America and on which you yourself have spoken and acted so eloquently.

I am going to try to illustrate for you an actual program we have which I think follows Mr. McCullough's principles in terms of both representing something which creates a chain of enthusiasm which is so important for animating this history and also that helps humanize history by using the Internet, as he said, is of some importance.

During Alex Haley's 12 years researching his groundbreaking novel "Roots," he traveled the globe to uncover his family's story, even crossed the Atlantic to get some feel for what his ancestors went through on the Middle Passage. He also spend many hours in the reading rooms of the Library of Congress, porting over American Missionary Society files from our Manuscript Collection.

For the first 100 years of the Library's existence, people could access our vast collections only by traveling here, working in the beautiful reading rooms, as Mr. Haley did.

Now the primary materials in the Library of Congress, many of them are already available free of charge online, and this has proven to be extraordinarily valuable in the teaching of civics and history, in supporting the teaching particularly in the classroom, and I believe that this kind of program that we have been running for a while now can be a key player in your program to establish Presidential academies for teachers and congressional academies for students, and also most particularly to create an online National Alliance for Teachers.

The technology revolution of the past decade has made it possible for the Library to reach far beyond its buildings. We now deliver 8 million interesting and educational multimedia documents, maps, and images of American history and culture free of charge to stimulate curiosity, to humanize the teaching of history. By exploiting the power of the Internet and the incomparable resources of these collections, the Library I think now can be considered the leading provider of free, noncommercial educational content on the World Wide Web.

The Library's websites attracted last year more than 2.5 billion hits, and they have won many prestigious awards by offering easy electronic access to the key documents, events, ideas, and people of American history. So the Library is uniquely positioned, I think, to support the goals of educators everywhere, helping students in a sense form their own questions so that finding the answers to them will drive them back into reading.

American Memory, as it was called, was first established as a pilot in 1990. It is one of the first large-scale efforts to use the Internet to disseminate high-quality educational content.

Out of that grew the National Digital Library program, which has created an online archive of more than 100 significant collections of important, rare, and unique items in all formats documenting American history and its cultural heritage. The materials were selected from the Library of Congress as well as from 36 other American institutions, making the National Digital Library truly national.

Students themselves get to work directly with the primary materials, get to feel some of that enthusiasm, whether it is manuscripts, documents of which we have spoken, the original drafts. You can see them inventing these things, maps which you can zoom in on and view with greater clarity than you can see them with the naked eye; prints and photographs of all kinds and varieties that themselves document the history of technology as well as illustrate different stages of the Nation's history, and music, which I am sorry we cannot provide for you, the local technology, but I assure you that online it illustrates all the different kinds of music of which Senator Byrd was speaking.

The point is these are the actual stuff of history, not about history. These resources encourage critical thinking in students and inspire learners to further exploration. The multimedia American Memory Collections include the papers of United States Presidents in their own handwriting—you get the feel and you see how good their handwriting is, by the way—Mathew Brady's Civil War photographs. This is the first photographed war and, of course, the great development of American history recorded in a whole host of moving photographs that have a great impact on children. Edward Curtis' images of Native Americans, and early films of Thomas Edison, the first films ever made, including the first steps on American soil of people arriving at Ellis Island at the turn of the century. It is very moving because he took—these are not the huddled masses of which people tend to speak. They are people proud, taking their first step on American soil. You can see how they dressed up in their finest outfits, usually the only good outfit they had, but proud to be taking that first step in the great entryway into America of so many of our citizens. And historic speeches is another thing, to hear the voices of our leaders, as well as the great sort of implements of American sports, the very first baseball cards. You cannot quite see it, but the one on the left is the Brooklyn Atlantics, who were champions of the world in 1865. And oral histories representing the diversity of our culture, recorded Federal projects of various kinds going back to the 1890s.

The Learning Page website, introduced in 1996 as a companion to the American Memory Collections, specifically was designed for K-12 educators and their students. Here a wide range of content, and the Library's digital collections are presented within an educational context that includes lesson plans, actual lesson plans that reflect the real-life experience. Those are just the sort of covering images on top of actual experience lesson plans of students. Also, "how to" projects, for instance, this one illustrates the beginning of—using maps to show how geography changed, the science of geography, and also to show how people view—there are all these little pictures. This is 1562, one of the earliest maps of the New

World, and it goes on to be—so they actually see these materials and have a kind of "how to" study of history through geography.

The point is the educational experience makes a dynamic, stimulating, and interactive activity. You have to have a train of thought. You have to be thinking critically to develop it. It is not passive spectator experience like television.

Now, on this page, teachers can show with their lesson plans. At the click of a mouse, they can search the collections. They can try out lesson plans. They can engage in classroom activities. They can connect with other teachers. They can ask a librarian for help, the Library of Congress or their local library. They can view a lecture or a poetry reading, or they can visit more than 40 exhibitions, which are also online.

We have had American Memory Fellows Institutes at the Library in summer. They can serve perhaps as a pilot for or in anticipation of your program to establish a National Alliance of Teachers. The institute has successfully trained a network of teachers across the country who are teaching other educators in their local communities what they have learned at the Library using primary sources in the classroom to stimulate and get that chain of enthusiasm. Over a 5-year period, 300 master educators from nearly every State have participated in a year-long, largely online, professional development program which is highlighted by a brief but intensive summer institute held at the Library.

Teams of educators worked directly with the Library staff and with the original lesson plans and teaching guides based on the Library's online materials. These teachers develop road-tested lesson plans that are now available electronically to all teachers through the Learning Page website.

So we already have a kind of alliance of teachers connected virtually through our Learning Page. But America needs to reach teachers in all of the Nation's 15,000 school districts, and also to have, as these institutes do, they get—what Mr. McCullough stressed so beautifully, they get firsthand exposure to the actual documents, and there are documents, by the way, in local histories, museums, libraries all over the country, so that is not just a perquisite of one community. They can have that experience of actually seeing the originals and then using the virtual materials, but carrying on that enthusiasm.

Anyhow, we are already reaching children and their families directly through yet another new website called America's Library, which is specifically designed to get kids where they are, in the audiovisual world of boom boxes and television, but seeing real quality material. It is fun, but it is also educational, and it is currently attracting more than 22 million hits per month, combining child-friendly graphics with the incomparable American collections of the Library, which include more than 4,500 stories about our Nation's past. Interactive elements on the site teach searching as a scavenger hunt. They offer a virtual tour around America. You can send a picture postcard of the American past online through e-mail and so forth.

The Library is also linking the world's resources with America's schools through collaborative digitization projects with the national libraries of Russia, Brazil, Spain, and the Netherlands. Joint bina-

tional, bilingual collaborations of this kind, combined with the power of the Internet, provide some marvelous material for global education. And they provide links—we also provide links to other vetted and reliable materials from and about more than 130 countries. When completed, this project—this is just one topical example, obviously, but when completed, this project will bring free to America's classrooms resource materials from all the nations of the world.

Finally, we have a new monthly online magazine called The Wise Guide, which offers articles that encourage newcomers to use our website to explore the wealth of the Library's online educational programs.

So the Library is reaching students, their teachers, and all learners with the documents, sounds, films, maps, music, and other artifacts that tell the story of America. I think this can be an inspirational as well as an educational enhancement for the important new initiatives that this committee is considering, and I, too, will be happy to answer questions, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Billington may be found in additional material.]

Senator ALEXANDER. Thank you, Dr. Billington. That is a fascinating presentation. Alex Haley was a close friend of mine, and he told me many times of his—he described that 13 years of research he did, finally discovering his ancestor Kunta Kinte in Gambia.

While we have such talent here, let me go right to the chase in a couple of ways. All of you have experience with summer institutes in one way or another in this subject. Dr. Cole does. Dr. Billington, as you said, you have short summer institutes of one kind. Dr. Hickok, you do as well.

And as we have heard today and know, there is a great story and a great need, and there are about maybe 2 million teachers plus out here of all kinds plus in K-12. So how do we connect all this up with the teachers?

Some of the obstacles I have heard about today or heard about other places include that teachers are not trained to teach history. Almost every witness has said that. They are trained in other subjects. Textbooks are dull and watered down and boring, and as Mr. McCullough said, if you were sentenced to 2 hours of reading the textbooks, that would cure you forever of wanting to learn history.

I believe many teachers are afraid to teach a lot of the stuff of history because they feel caught in so-called controversial subjects and do not feel confident in dealing with them. And then, finally, an obstacle, Dr. Billington, to what you have to offer is that a great many teachers, while they have hardware, are not comfortable with using the Internet. They will say they are and there are lots of salesmen around who will tell you they are, but the fact of the matter is if you go into a great many schools, you do not see very many teachers who are comfortable integrating material on the Internet into their daily teaching program.

So my own thought is—and the reason I proposed this legislation was that summer institutes of 2 weeks, say, for teachers or 4 weeks for students at which there would be a lot of master teachers would be a good way to solve many of these problems at once. If you have

200 teachers, for example, for 2 weeks—Mr. McCullough talked about visiting historic sites. They can be presented with this information and shown how to use it. There can be a discussion of how to teach controversial subjects and a reminder that most of American history is controversial subjects because it is a conflict of very deeply held principles about which we mostly agree.

So my question for you would be: Based on the experience you already have with institutes or what you can think about in the future, in each case, Dr. Cole, starting with you, if you think about a 2-week institute for teachers, what would you do with the 2 weeks?

Mr. COLE. Well, first let me say that hearing you, Senator Alexander, and Senator Byrd and David McCullough and my colleagues here gives me a lot of hope. I think this is inspiring, and I think together we can really address this problem of American amnesia.

We have a long experience with summer seminars in the NEH, and I like to think of these seminars as sort of an analogy of a pebble tossed into a pool that has a great rippling effect, because what we do is we bring teachers together with experts in fields of various disciplines and would now talk about American history. And we give them a very content-rich experience. We expose them to the raw materials of history, things that you can find in American Memory, for example.

Then these teachers take that knowledge back. They have a chance in these seminars, by the way, to reflect and to discuss among themselves. They take this content back and then teach generations and generations of students.

Senator ALEXANDER. Where would such a seminar be? Here in Washington? Or do you have them all over?

Mr. COLE. We have them all over the country.

Senator ALEXANDER. And how long are they? How many days?

Mr. COLE. They vary. They vary.

Senator ALEXANDER. And how many teachers will come to a typical seminar, or does that vary as well?

Mr. COLE. Fifteen to 30. But what we plan in our "We the People" initiative is to expand this to include many more hundreds of teachers. We find that this gives teachers something that they do not have, that is, very content-rich education.

Senator ALEXANDER. Dr. Hickok, I wonder if in thinking about the teaching program that you are administering whether you now have such—whether any of the school districts now have such institutes or whether you are thinking about such institutes for the future.

Mr. HICKOK. Some do. I think the better ones have partnerships with institutions of higher education. I do not think many of them locate the 2- or 3-week institute at a historic location, which I think is an excellent idea. You know, history is everywhere. You do not have to go to famous historic sites to be in a historic location.

I do think that most need to do a better job of incorporating technology. One of the real benefits from these kinds of experiences I have seen—and I have been lucky enough to participate in quite a few over the years as a faculty member—is not just the experience of those 2 or 3 weeks where a chemistry develops among the participants and an energy and a willingness to sort of get engaged

in the discussions and debates, sort of give them the kind of intellectual support that they might feel they need. It is what takes place afterwards, especially with the technology. This community does not disband after 3 weeks. They tend to keep in touch through the Internet, through technology. They tend to share lesson plans. It is kind of the ripple effect you are talking about.

The beauty of that is gradually that intellectual community of history teachers, if you will, finds others to get engaged at their location, so it does grow. It is very important that it not be seen as sort of a 3-week experience, have a good time, get a certificate, and go back to work. It has got to be in many ways a transformative experience, intellectually, pedagogically, and professionally. And the best of them can do that. And when that takes place, it really grows pretty quickly.

Senator ALEXANDER. Dr. Billington, what has been your experience? And as you look ahead, what could you foresee for such summer institutes for teachers?

Mr. BILLINGTON. Well, our summer institutes are very short, very intensive. They are just a week long. I think the 2 weeks and the longer period you propose is an excellent idea.

We have tried—a couple of things from our experience that are worth noting. First of all, the exposure to primary materials, whether they are handling them directly in the Library or in some other archive or repository or dealing with them online, can be very effective right down to the 3rd grade, 2nd grade. I mean, it is surprising because the main point is it gets people to form questions. When they themselves form the question, they are motivated to find answers. That is important not only for history but for learning in general. And because kids are on the Internet very early, if you do not get some good quality material to them on the Internet, they are going to identify with, you know, the culture of violent video games and all the destructive things and the chat rooms which are destroying the basic unity of human thought, which was the sentence, because it just runs on with the only punctuation being "like" and "you know."

If you do not get good things on there very early and get the teachers—the training of the teachers is absolutely central, I think. And we have found also that the people who are trained in this can train other people. We try to make it a condition. It is competitive access to our summer institutes that they offer some promise or some program for teaching others. Because you are absolutely right, one of the biggest obstacles is that the kids very often tend to be ahead of the teachers with the new technology.

But I would say that getting people comfortable with the new technology is not nearly as big or as demanding a problem as it is getting the competence and the knowledge of history and the enthusiasm of it from the teachers themselves. If they have gone through a lot of education themselves and not picked this up, that is in a way the bigger problem.

So it seems to me a slightly longer period, but focusing on teachers at an early stage, because a lot of scholarship shows that if they have not gotten turned on by the 4th grade, they are not going to get turned on at all. And this has the capacity, because, I mean, this is like the experience—I mean, my model was going up in the

attic of my grandparents when I was very young and discovering old letters and old pictures. And I started asking my grandmother a whole lot of questions. And that was in a way the way most kids get an interest in history.

Another point that I would like to stress that Mr. McCullough stressed is the importance of getting the family involved. Our new website, this America's Library website, has been adopted by the Advertising Council. It is the first library program they have ever adopted, precisely because they think it has the capacity to get intergenerational learning going, story telling across generational lines. And the value of the Internet is it goes into the home as well as the schools.

So I think that the institutes that you are proposing are very important. I do not think the business of getting people to feel comfortable, teachers, with the Internet is that difficult. It just has to be done, and it has to be done professionally. So I would say that an important aspect of this should be using people who are already well trained. We have a network—there are others, there are plenty of others—to train the trainers, so to speak. But you need to get a multiplier effect because all these programs, including ours, are just very small drops in a very big ocean. And I think having some obligation for the participants to assume some responsibility for energizing, training teachers in their own community would be a good thing to add in so that you can really ramp this thing up and not let the peer group chat room world take over the Internet, because the Internet is not—no new technology is automatic delivery.

The last thing I would say is that we have found the combination of the new technology and old materials, primary materials that reflect old values, that widen the horizons of kids, is old material, old values, and new technology. That is a very American combination, and I think we need to not only teach it but to exemplify it, that the country that produced all this new technology can use it to restore its memory and not simply to create the idea of innovation for innovation's sake.

Senator ALEXANDER. I have one more question of this panel, and then we will move on to the next one. I will start with Dr. Hickok on this and see if Dr. Cole and Dr. Billington have anything to add.

The Leave No Child Behind Act, as you mentioned in your testimony, requires that teachers in core academic subjects be highly qualified, quote-quote, by the year 2005, 2006. Several of the witnesses today have remarked that in no subject do teachers have less instruction than in history other than physics.

Now, that is a problem to cure for the future, but we have got more than 2 million teachers out there teaching today, and we have lots of students out there today. And so it occurs to me that these summer academies for teachers as well as the summer schools for students, but especially the academies for teachers, might be a way that a State could help its teachers become highly qualified in history.

What do you think of that?

Mr. HICKOK. I think you are absolutely right, Senator. Two points. The highly qualified language of the law does say if you are teaching a core academic discipline such as history you need to have subject matter mastery in history. In far too many places, the

certificate is a social studies certificate, and that is not to be critical of social studies, but that is often not much history, maybe no history.

So the first challenge for existing teachers is to get the kind of background they need to meet the highly qualified provisions, and one way to do that would be to participate at institutes such as the ones that you are proposing.

The other issue to remember is that new teachers need to be highly qualified as well, so there is a challenge now for those who want to go into teaching, perhaps those who are just entering college and teacher preparation programs now, they need to start thinking, we need to start thinking about a new way to prepare teachers, all teachers, but certainly history teachers. They need to be taking courses in experiencing history in the departments and not just in the college education programs.

Senator ALEXANDER. I have an idea we will hear something about that from Dr. Ravitch when she gets to the table.

Mr. HICKOK. I think so.

Senator ALEXANDER. Dr. Cole, do you have any thought on that?

Mr. COLE. I agree. I think it will better prepare them, and I think it is right, there is a systemic problem here in the way teachers are trained that needs to be addressed.

Senator ALEXANDER. Dr. Billington?

Mr. BILLINGTON. I agree. I think that part of the problem of the way history is taught, I think much greater pressure should be put on the university system, which is not—the major universities that train historians train them mostly to talk to other historians, not to teach effectively in the schools. So I think that there needs to be some pressure put. The universities have an obligation, which they have not really properly assumed, to teach history to teachers of history. I think the summer schools should be developed there. I think the summer institutes that the Humanities Endowment has done—I have had exposure to a couple of them—are excellent. But they need to be multiplied, and the whole burden should not be on the Federal Government. The universities should be cajoled and made to see that it is part of their responsibility not just to deal with the graduate students there but to deal with teaching crisis in their particular discipline.

One of the problems, it is not only ideological, as you mentioned, but it is methodological. There has been so much emphasis on impersonal forces and on various methodological fads in the study of history that people no longer write good English. So it affects expression. That is one reason David McCullough—everybody reads David McCullough because he is such a beautiful writer. The teaching of history is the telling of stories, making them literate. There is nothing wrong with making them a little more fun. And if there were more emphasis in the universities on the writing and on the presentation for a general audience the way history should be, I think we would have a much better trained corps. But as it is, people tend to write more and more at rarefied levels for less and less readers rather than addressing themselves to what you have well identified as a national problem that the universities should be playing a much more active role.

Mr. COLE. I second and third that.

Mr. HICKOK. I fourth it.

Senator ALEXANDER. Our most successful summer Governor's School for teachers in Tennessee was a Governor's academy for teachers of writing, taught by Richard Marius, who was at Harvard, whose job was teaching Harvard freshmen how to write as they went in. And he would divide them up in groups and get local writers to come and actually work with them, and Marius, who was a Tennessean originally, came down, worked with about 200 teachers for a 2-week period in the summer, and literally inspired them. I mean, their feet did not hit the ground for 10 years after they spent 2 weeks with him. And it was 200 teachers every summer for 10 years, and it had a dramatic effect in the classrooms across our State on the teaching of writing.

I hope that this will be the beginning of an alliance working together. I have a list of 11 Federal programs related to the teaching and/or the study of American history and civics, and they are all supervised by the three of you. And so if Senator Kennedy and Senator Byrd and I can work with you over a period of time to look for ways to coordinate those activities—we do not want to run them. We just want to encourage you, put the spotlight on them, have additional hearings, provide the funds. Perhaps over a period of time perhaps we can put the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools.

Thank you for coming.

Mr. HICKOK. Thank you.

Mr. BILLINGTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. COLE. Thank you.

Senator ALEXANDER. I would like to invite the members of the third panel, Dr. Diane Ravitch and Blanche Deaderick and Russell Berg, to please come.

Welcome. Thank you for being patient as we heard from, I thought, some very interesting people. Senator Dodd is coming in a few minutes, Russell, to introduce you, and I am going to let him have the honor of doing that. He is the ranking member of this committee. And, Blanche, welcome to you and to Kate Gooch. Both are here from Memphis. Kate started the Governor's School for International Studies at the University of Memphis and was in charge of it, for a number of years, and Blanche ran it. So we will get to you next.

Dr. Ravitch has come from New York. She has a class to teach there, and she has to go back there after a while. So if the others of you will permit that, I would like to introduce Dr. Ravitch and let her say what she has to say and ask her a few questions, and then that will make sure that her students are not cheated out of her class this afternoon.

Diane Ravitch—there is no American historian of education superior to Diane Ravitch. There is also no one who writes about education who is a better writer than Diane Ravitch. She has a clear view where our schools came from and a strong view about what they ought to be doing. When I was appointed by the first President Bush as Education Secretary, my first act was to recruit David Kearns, the CEO of Xerox, to become the Deputy Secretary of Education, and then he and I, never having met Diane Ravitch but having read her books and works for a long time, invited her

to lunch and asked her to join us, which she did, as Assistant Secretary of Education. So she is still writing and still teaching, especially on this subject.

So, Diane, thank you very much for being here today.

STATEMENT OF DIANE RAVITCH, RESEARCH PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, AND SENIOR FELLOW, THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

Ms. RAVITCH. Well, thank you, Senator Alexander. I am very honored to be here and to be in such distinguished company and to hear from the gentlemen who have preceded us.

Since everything I was going to point out that was brand new has been said this morning, I am going to say some things that are not in my written testimony that were evoked by the previous speakers.

This hearing is wonderful for me because I started pushing the subject of history education and the need to revive it. As I realized sitting here, I started it 20 years ago. It was at that time that the State of New York was proposing to drop chronology from the social studies curriculum and to teach history and social studies all mixed up together so that events came completely out of chronological order and in relation to grand themes and there would be no sense of cause and effect. And I wrote my first article on the topic. Al Shanker gave me his guest column in the New York Times to decry this mish-mash, and the State backed off and restored chronological history.

I followed that up with an article in the New York Times Magazine in 1985 called "The Decline and Fall of the Teaching of History," and then got on to the subject of how history had been dropped out of the elementary grades and retitled that "Tot Sociology."

Subsequent to that, I wrote the California history standards K-12 with a committee created by the State of California. That curriculum has been around since 1987, which is quite remarkable.

But I have been at this subject of the dire State of history education for a long time, and I salute you for making this an important cause. I think for all the reasons that have been said this morning, it is very important to our future as a Nation.

I am particularly pleased that your legislation incorporates not just history but civics, because that is what is so often missing. And I think that is what we find missing, for instance, in higher education where history is taught completely divorced from any sense of the importance of democratic principles.

There has been, as you pointed out earlier, a feeling on the part of the National Council of Social Studies and many in that field that the U.S. is not exceptional. In fact, several years ago, the NCSS put out a proposed framework for the teaching of social studies where they said that U.S. and world history should be merged into a single study, which would demonstrate that the U.S. was not in any way exceptional, it was no different from any other country and should not get any more time or attention.

The teachers of America, despite their lack of a strong history background, realized that that was a very bad idea, and I do not

know of any State in the country that has actually followed that recommendation.

On campus, I think one of the reasons that—you know, I have very mixed feelings about where and how teachers should be educated—is that on campus history has become so specialized, as Mr. Cole and Mr. Billington said earlier, that we are certainly not getting in higher education the approach to American history that David McCullough described, a sense of the inspirational quality of American history, a sense of the specialness of the Founding Fathers.

What we get instead is, whereas American history used to be taught as everything that happened was good, there tends to be now a sense that everything that happened was bad. And students who come through American history courses come through a long exposure to the deep defects of American society, the deep defects of American history. They do not encounter heroes. They only encounter victims. And there is an adversarial approach to teaching about America that I think turns a lot of young people off to history other than to continue seeking for flaws that have not yet been uncovered. So that creates a very bad taste in the mouth in terms of teaching history to children.

Now, as was said earlier, we have amongst people who are teaching history a teacher corps, and it is 3 million, by the way, not 2 million. But amongst people who teach social studies and history, the majority of them have neither a major nor a minor in history, and they are coming from other fields. And most of their education, unfortunately, has been a pedagogy, which does not prepare them for any particular academic subject.

I think in terms of the problem that you are attempting to deal with, I certainly support this legislation. I think symbolically it is very important. I think in terms of what it will accomplish, it is important. But it does not get to the structural problem, which is that our States need to establish requirements for history teachers where they are expected to take, for example, not only courses in U.S. history and world history, but also courses in the U.S. Constitution. And I think that point was made very well this morning. Until the States begin establishing reasonable requirements for history teachers, we are not going to see any serious change.

I have just finished writing a book, which is actually being published next week, and part of the book was a review of textbooks. So I forced myself all last summer to——

Senator ALEXANDER. "The Language Police" by Diane Ravitch. I have it right here.

Ms. RAVITCH. Well, I forced myself last summer to read the history textbooks that our children read in high school and junior high school, and, believe me, it was truly forcing myself. This is an exercise in "my eyes glaze over." It is a punishment to children to expect them to read these books. Most of them run to 1,000 pages. At least half the material in them is graphics. The textbooks attempt to look like Web pages, but since they are static, they really cannot compete with Web pages. And the language in them, as David McCullough said, is really very dull, and everything is compressed so small that you do not get a sense of narrative.

Now, since Senator Byrd mentioned how he had been inspired by David Saville Muzzey's textbook, I realized that I had the introduction—a quote from his introduction from Muzzey's textbook in my new book, and I want to tell you why David Muzzey said that high school students should learn history, and this was his advice to his readers of his high school history text. This was in 1940. He said, "You are growing up in this age of opportunity and responsibility. In a few years, we of the older generation shall have passed on, leaving to you the duty of carrying on the American tradition of a free democracy, of preserving our ideals and remedying our faults. This is your America. Whatever business or profession you may choose to follow, you are all first and foremost American citizens. Each of you should think of himself or herself as a person who has inherited a beautiful country estate and should be proud to keep up that estate and to make such modern improvements as will increase its beauty and comforts. You would be ungrateful heirs indeed if you did not care to know who had bequeathed the estate to you, who had planned and built the house, who had labored to keep it in repair for your occupancy, who had extended and beautified its grounds, who had been alert to defend it from marauders and burglars. If you agree with me, you have already answered the question why you should be eager to study American history."

Well, I looked at all of the textbooks that our kids get today, all of them published between 1997 and 2001, and not one of them has an introduction explaining why kids should want to study history or connecting history to the extension and protection of our democracy. In fact, there is almost an embarrassment about the idea that we have something that we want to be proud of.

What I found in my review of these textbooks is, first of all, there is no narrative. They just give event after event and fact after fact. There is certainly no celebration of American democracy and its growth and development and improvement over time. There are no paeans to freedom and democracy because that is considered embarrassing in the world of higher education. There are no heroes. There is no idealism.

What we do find is a plethora of pointing out hypocrisy, finding victims, pointing to exploitation. And it is not a very inspiring story, and it is intended not to be inspiring. And so it is dull.

What I think that you can do with these 2-week seminars that would be important—you cannot take the place of a college education. You cannot take the place of a year-long study of American history. You cannot do that in 2 weeks. What you can help to do is to begin with presenting people who participate in these seminars with a synthesis, having a distinguished advisory panel of historians and excellent history teachers, through the auspices of the NEH develop the synthesis of what teachers will learn and what they will teach and what a year-long course in American history must include as essentials. Then working from this synthesis, spend at least a week out of this 2-week period describing the synthesis, criticizing it, talking about it, understanding it so that teachers can begin to integrate, because if they have taken history courses, the chances are they have bits and pieces of American history.

They will have a very difficult time utilizing either of the methods that David McCullough described, going to John Adams' House, which is very specific. First of all, you have to know who John Adams is and how he fits into the Revolutionary generation and how that fits into the broader picture. So teachers need to have synthesis. They will not be able to use the kinds of material that the Library of Congress has available unless they have the big picture. And I think you can work on the big picture during this first week. You can in the second week work with teachers in developing the skills of using primary sources, of using technology, of introducing multimedia approaches to the teaching of history, of using experiential approaches where you go to sites and where you go to local landmarks and where you fit it in, of using—instead of or in addition to textbooks, using biographies, using real histories and real narratives so that the teachers themselves can see what they have been missing in not having these materials.

But I think that without that larger picture, they are going to still be at sea and have just lots and lots of little pieces, very detailed and specific.

I just wanted to close, first of all, by thanking you for your interest in what is obviously a very important and timely subject, but also to remember something that occurred to me, and this was in 1989. I had been invited by the American Federation of Teachers to travel to Warsaw, and at the time I was invited, Solidarity was the underground movement, and that was in the spring of 1989. But by the time I got there, the underground dissident who had invited me was the Minister of Education. And that was in the fall of 1989. So I arrived and I was told that I was to lecture on the meaning of democracy. And I was lecturing in the Great Hall of the Ministry of Education.

I gave my lecture and was told that this building had been the headquarters of the Nazi Party before it had become the Communist Ministry of Education. And one of my Polish hosts said to me, "We always use words like 'democracy.' We always use words like 'debate.' But they did not mean what you said they mean. They always meant no debate and no democracy. They meant the opposite of your description." And I had this eerie feeling, in fact, goose bumps all over, thinking that I was the first person in that building in 60 years who talked about debate and democracy and actually meant it.

And I wonder whether our children will know the meaning of freedom and democracy unless they understand much more about the history of this country and much more about what it means not to have freedom, not to have democracy in countries like Iraq and Poland and the other countries that have gone through the terrible things that have happened in our world. If all they have is what they get instantaneously, it is not enough.

And so I thank you for addressing this vital issue and will be happy to answer any questions, and if you have no questions, I will be happy to extend any help that you ask for in the future.

Senator ALEXANDER. Thank you, Dr. Ravitch.

First of all, I would like to welcome Senator Dodd of Connecticut, who is here and in a moment will introduce Mr. Berg. But he may want to join me in asking you some questions.

Ms. Deaderick, is your schedule such that I can go to Mr. Berg next and then we will come back to you?

Ms. DEADERICK. Yes.

Senator ALEXANDER. All right.

Dr. Ravitch, first, thank you for your very specific suggestions about what we might accomplish in a 2-week institute for teachers of American history and civics. That was a big help. And maybe as time goes along we will ask you to write the whole synthesis—that would be terrific—or some enterprising applicant for one of these schools. The idea would be that there will be a dozen places around the country in this pilot program where someone will want to do this and want to apply to the National Endowment for the Humanities and set up such a school in the summer. I would invite you to take an interest in that because the first institutes will obviously be models for others, and it will be a way to put a fresh direction to the way we approach the teaching of American history and civics.

You mentioned Al Shanker, I believe, and I have great respect for Al Shanker, the former president of the American Federation of Teachers. And I remember being in a meeting with him in 1988 in Rochester, and the president of Notre Dame, Monk Malloy, asked a roomful of educators this question. He said, "What is the rationale for a public school?" And there was this embarrassing silence among all these educators, until Al Shanker spoke up and said, "The rationale for a public school was, when it was created, to teach immigrant children the three R's and what it means to be an American, with the hope that they would then go home and teach their parents."

Is that an accurate memory of how and why the school was created in this country? And if so, whatever happened to the idea that the common school or the public school had as its principal rationale teaching about the principles that unite us as a country?

Ms. RAVITCH. That was the original rationale, and the great leaders, Henry Barnard of Connecticut and Horace Mann of Massachusetts, understood that citizenship and sustaining and building this republic was the most important thing that the public school could do. It was not about dividing us up and teaching us how we differ, but teaching us what we have in common so that we could, in fact, be citizens and be part of a common enterprise and pull together.

Robert Hutchins, who was the president of the University of Chicago, once said that the purpose of the public school is to sustain the res publica, the public thing, and it is about maintaining and sustaining our governmental institutions.

Senator ALEXANDER. In my, as we call it in the Senate, so-called maiden address, I spoke on this subject, and I said I thought we had spent over the last 30 or 40 years too much time, relatively, on diversity, multiculturalism, and bilingualism and too little time on a common culture, on a common language, and on unity. And I nearly had my head taken off by a few people who thought that was heretical.

I still think I am right. I think our diversity and variety is one of the greatest strengths that we have as a country, but Jerusalem and the Balkans and Iraq are all diverse. Diversity is not that great an accomplishment. It is a source of strength, but it is not

an accomplishment. The accomplishment is that we have taken all that variety and diversity and turned it into one country, and we do not talk about that. We do not teach our children about the principles that unite us as Americans. And, therefore, it seems to me they do not—that is where the idea comes that there is no difference between the history of the world and the history of America because they are the same thing. They are not the same thing, in my opinion.

Ms. RAVITCH. Well, our national slogan is E Pluribus Unum—out of many, one. And it does not deny them any. In fact, I live in the most diverse city probably in the entire world, and diversity is a magnificent thing. But in order to maintain a nation and to make it work, you have to have a sense that you have something in common with your fellow citizens. And that is why we have public schools. If we did not care about teaching a sense of community, then we would not need public education at all.

And, by the way, Senator Dodd, I wanted to tell you that in my review of the work of the States in developing things like history and literature, Connecticut is way up there. It has just done a magnificent job. As you know from the NAEP scores, Connecticut always leaves almost everyone else in the dust.

Senator ALEXANDER. Well, that is a nice transition to Senator Dodd.

Senator Dodd, would you like to ask Dr. Ravitch some questions?

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR DODD

Senator DODD. Well, first of all, I apologize for arriving a bit late. We have had a hectic morning. We had all five Presidents of the Central American countries here this morning, and as a former Peace Corps volunteer in Latin America, I worked closely with the Central American countries.

But I want to begin by commending you, Mr. Chairman, on your—and I am proud to be a cosponsor—first bill. It is a bill dealing very specifically with the teaching of American history and civics, and it should come as no surprise that you chose this subject matter, given your own background in history. This is a wonderful contribution to the public debate to be able to have a subject matter like this as the subject of discussion in the U.S. Senate.

I appreciate your very kind comments, Ms. Ravitch, about Connecticut, and you are going to hear in a minute an example of why we are so proud of Connecticut.

And I am hopeful that we are going to do some things to begin to address some of these issues. First of all, I think the legislation by the chairman is going to be a good start. If it does nothing else it will to get us talking about history and civics education around here. We don't do enough of that.

I get teased a little bit by my staff. I walk around every single day of my life with a copy of the Constitution in my pocket. Every single day. And I read it almost every day—not all of it, but I read a good part of it every day, go through it. And the Declaration of Independence is in this as well. This was given to me by Senator Byrd years ago. It is a ratty old copy. It is all falling apart.

Senator ALEXANDER. He came earlier, and he waved his copy just as well.

Senator DODD. We are going to build a Visitor Center here at the Capitol. We are in the process of doing it, as you can see by the incredible amount of construction going on here. Beyond being a public works project, what we are trying to do with the Visitors Center is create an introduction to the Capitol. One of the things that has always been disturbing to me is that people come here, we walk them into the halls without any preparation of what they are about to see, what these buildings represent, what went on here, and what goes on here.

It is a civics project. The Center will have theaters in which people will be introduced to the history of Congress. So that before you walk in the building, you understand what you are about to see. This is a living institution, based on that which came before.

I have spoken at every single public high school in my State in the last 15 years, and I try to do it almost every week. I have not been very faithful to that in the last number of weeks. I have a new child, an 18-month-old daughter that is taking a little of my time, so I am missing some of these things. But I have been to every high school, and one of the reasons I do this is because I want students in my State, and particularly in my inner cities, to see a United States Senator answer questions, listen to their ideas, and talk about the notion of civics so that it is living. It is not just a question of who we Senators are but what a Senator is and what we do.

I know Senators' schedules are busy, but we all ought to make an effort, when high schools and elementary or middle schools come down here for those photographs on the steps and so forth, to be with them. The Presidential Classroom and Close Up programs are wonderful institutions. We ought to promote promote these types of programs particularly Close Up, which reaches out to a wide-range of students so you end up with a mix of students who otherwise would not be able to afford to come to DC. There are also internships. In fact, there are so many things that we can do in our daily conduct as Senators to become part of a living civics lessons, if you will, if we utilize our offices and our time appropriately. I cannot think of anything more important that we can do.

Having said all of that, I come from a family of teachers. My father's three sisters taught for 40 years apiece in the Connecticut public school system. My sister has taught for almost 35 years in the inner city of Hartford. My brother, Tom, taught history for 30 years at Georgetown University. So I get lobbied rather heavily, Mr. Chairman, on teachers and the importance of it.

One of the things I would like to bring up is how stunned I was to discover how few States today require any State history. There used to be a time when it was almost mandatory that there at least be a year of State history. The reason I bring that up is because I think it is important that there be a progression. I think children first learn from their immediate environs and then from an expanding circle. I am learning this with my first child, my 18-month-old daughter. When we move her from our house here in Washington and we go up to Connecticut, it is like going to a different country for her. In fact, going from one room to the next is almost like going to a different country. At least it was initially. See if you begin by understanding your neighborhood, your commu-

nity and where you are from, getting you to understand the Nation in which you live and the world which you inhabit becomes a lot easier.

And so I wonder if you might comment on what has happened here. I guess a lot of it has to due with budgets and so forth, but why isn't there more of an effort to begin civics and history at a very young age. Why do we only talk about history in high school? I do not think you can begin early enough talking about the notion of civics. There is only one textbook on Connecticut history. Unfortunately, the gentleman who wrote it has passed away. It is very hard to get a copy of his books. But I use it as a reference all the time because it has wonderful facts and information about the 169 cities and towns that Mr. Berg and Mr. Sullivan and I live in in the State. But when this gentleman died, that is where it ends. There is a gap now of about 30 years. In fact, if anyone is listening to me, it would be a nice project to pick up the next 30 years to add on to that wonderful history of Connecticut that is already in textbook form.

I wonder if you might just comment on the notion of beginning earlier with the notion of civics and what has happened to States that so many have dropped the notion of learning about the State in which one lives as a beginner to understanding the larger civics questions.

Ms. RAVITCH. Yes, Senator Dodd, in most States, State history became conventional in the 4th grade, and it just was always taught in 4th grade. When I was growing up in Texas, it was always taught in 7th grade. But most States do teach State history at some point. And I think that if the State of Connecticut required State history, you would find someone who would quickly prepare at least one textbook, if not more, to meet that requirement.

When you talk about kids learning in terms of expanding their environments, there has actually been over the past, I do not know, 50 years this idea that little kids cannot really deal with any history. And so they spend 1st grade learning about myself, and 2nd grade is my neighborhood and community, and 3rd grade is my town. And so by the time they get to 4th grade, they can learn about my State.

This is actually a very bad idea. It is right for your 18-month-old, but for little kids, especially in the 2nd and 3rd and 4th grade, they are very capable of learning about biography. They love great stories of heroes. And it used to be that all over the country, in America, kids learned about Nathan Hale; they learned about George Washington; they learned about, you know, the great men and women of our republic and even of other cultures. And all that got tossed out for my neighborhood and the community helpers, which turned out to be such a dreary thing that surveys showed that kids were not doing any social studies at all in the early grades because the teachers thought it was boring. And you would get a textbook telling you about somebody else's community and someone else having a birthday party and somebody else going grocery shopping. Well, kids don't need to read in a textbook about grocery shopping when they could be reading about Nathan Hale.

So I think that some States have been trying to turn that around and realize that you can actually introduce little kids to heroes. They like it a lot.

Senator DODD. How many States do that? How many States really require it today?

Ms. RAVITCH. Well, about half the States now have history standards, and that is a big change. Ten years ago, there were only four States that had history standards, and it was Virginia, Connecticut, Texas, and Massachusetts, literally the only four in the country. The rest all had social studies standards. Now, including Connecticut, today it is about half the States actually have history standards, but most of them still have this antiquated idea that little kids cannot deal with anything like history or civics. But, in fact, the thing about little kids—and it is really up until the time kids are teenagers. Kids have this tremendous sense of fairness. And you will hear them say, when your 18-month-old starts to talk, "That's not fair." They know what is——

Senator DODD. She is talking.

Ms. RAVITCH. Then she is already beginning to know what is fair. Kids know about fairness, and that is the basis for teaching them civic education, what is fair.

Senator DODD. Well, good. That is very helpful. I live, by the way—you mentioned Nathan Hale. I live in the town of East Haddam, CT, where he taught. In fact, down the street from me is the Nathan Hale Schoolhouse. In fact, when that schoolhouse, that one-room schoolhouse became to small in about 1854, they built a little two-room schoolhouse down the street, which was the schoolhouse in that part of town because there were seven districts. Obviously, in a small town, there are not a lot of schools. It was the schoolhouse from 1854 until 1948. And that schoolhouse is my home today. I have lived in it for 22 years, converted it into a home, and it is just the wonderful vibrations of being in the successor schoolhouse to Nathan Hale's.

Ms. RAVITCH. Well, I might not normally have mentioned Nathan Hale but for the fact that Senator Byrd spoke about Nathan Hale this morning in some detail, and it was very interesting.

Senator ALEXANDER. I hope you don't come to the same end he did.

Senator DODD. Well, if I could on behalf of my country, it would be a wonderful ending. [Laughter.]

Senator ALEXANDER. Senator, do you have any other——

Senator DODD. No. Just when we finish here, I will introduce Mr. Berg. I do not know how you want to proceed, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ALEXANDER. Well, let me thank Dr. Ravitch for coming because she is going back to New York to teach a class.

Ms. RAVITCH. In history.

Senator ALEXANDER. In history.

Ms. RAVITCH. Thank you.

Senator ALEXANDER. So thank you very much for making a special trip for this. We appreciate it very much.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Ravitch may be found in additional material.]

Senator ALEXANDER. Senator Dodd, would you introduce Mr. Berg?

Senator DODD. Just very quickly, Mr. Chairman, you have been very gracious again. Russell Berg is a student at Trumbull High School, and we welcome you here, Russell. It is good to have you come down.

He is a member of Trumbull's civics education team, which for the fourth straight year, Mr. Chairman, will be competing in the national finals of the "We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution" program here in Washington. With that kind of a record, I might say that Trumbull High School is to civics education in Connecticut what the women's basketball team at Uconn—with all due respect—look at the sad face now on the Tennessean over here is to basketball in Connecticut. I had to bring that up. I apologize.

We are very proud obviously of the women's basketball team, but we don't give enough recognition, with all due respect to champions in education. And so we want this to be a moment, Russell, while you may not be getting the attention that Diana Taurasi is right now, to think of yourself as sort of in the same league, considering how well you have done and how well Trumbull High School has done over the years in this "We the People: The Citizen and Constitution" issue. He has been named, by the way, Mr. Chairman, as an AP scholar with honors, a National Merit Scholarship finalist, and a Presidential Scholar semifinalist.

Peter Sullivan, who is with him, is Russell's civics teacher and last year's Trumbull High School Teacher of the Year. Russell's testimony speaks very highly of Mr. Sullivan, and I am sure that he deserves all of the praise and more that he will be getting as someone who has worked so hard on this program that Trumbull High has competed in.

So we are honored that you are here, Russell, and, Mr. Sullivan, we thank you for coming down, and I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for inviting them to be a part of this.

Senator ALEXANDER. Russell, Mr. Sullivan, thank you very much for coming. We look forward to your comments.

STATEMENTS OF RUSSELL BERG, STUDENT, TRUMBULL HIGH SCHOOL, TRUMBULL, CT; ACCOMPANIED BY PETER SULLIVAN, HISTORY TEACHER, TRUMBULL HIGH SCHOOL, TRUMBULL CT; AND BLANCHE DEADERICK, HISTORY TEACHER, MEMPHIS, TN

Mr. BERG. Thank you. Good morning. I would first like to say what an honor, what a humbling experience it is to be on the same panel with such distinguished historians, doctors, experts in the field of civic education. It really is a pleasure to be here.

Mr. Chairman, it is an honor to testify before this committee on this most important issue of civic education. By promoting civic education in schools, you and the cosponsors of this legislation, including our Senator Christopher Dodd, have proven that education is not something to be sidelined in the face of pressing current issues. Your actions have shown us that education is a pressing current issue.

Unfortunately, to many Americans, our Government may seem intimidating and difficult to understand. Civic education is the key to comprehending, appreciating, and eventually participating in our democratic process. The "We the People: The Citizen and the Con-

stitution" program, which is administered by the Center for Civic Education and funded by the United States Department of Education by an act of Congress, takes the logical approach to understanding our American Government, by tracing its manifestations to their source, the Constitution.

Our Constitution provides Government with powers and limitations, to ensure congruence with the Founders' greatest hopes of a benevolent government ruling under popular consent. To many Americans, the Constitution is a revered document, written on browned parchment with faded ink. But to my class, the Constitution is a living gold mine of philosophical, political, and social history.

Our State champion Trumbull, CT, "We the People" class is led by the knowledgeable and charismatic Mr. Peter Sullivan. The most incredible achievement that our class has made, and that Mr. Sullivan has in no small part facilitated, is the critical mass of constitutional knowledge we have learned. My favorite moments in education occur when concepts and new information can be integrated into an overall framework of the issue at hand. A beautiful symphony of debate and exchange miraculously manifests every morning in our class. Mr. Sullivan might bring up an issue currently in the U.S. Supreme Court docket, or ask the class for any news they might have heard the night before. An opinion is expressed by a student, a rebuttal by another. A particularly progressive member of the class might apply the issue to its broader social ramifications. A more critical member of the class would then appeal to our logic and the realistic implications of the Court's decisions.

Here, in a brew of free, creative thought, coupled with the solid foundation of constitutional knowledge on which to anchor our arguments, lies true learning. Not learning without any application to ourselves, but knowledge that sheds light and understanding upon a Government that is involved in so many issues concerning our daily lives.

"We the People" was a class I signed up for at the end of my junior year, with great expectations in mind. I had heard from many older students that the class was more than a class. It was hard work, to be sure, but the rewards extended beyond grades and test scores.

In 2 weeks, our team will be competing in the National Finals for the "We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution" program. Throughout the year, a common goal has driven our class together, and together forward. I have seen miraculous things this past year. I have seen quiet, reserved students emerge, citing complex Court cases with confidence and vigor in our daily debates. Students who many dreaded would succumb to the great demands of the program have only flourished to become our leaders and exemplars. Simply put, well-designed programs in civics, such as "We the People," taught by teachers like Mr. Sullivan, make a difference in the classroom.

Surely, such changes in our young people can only be for the better. A civic education, as buttressed by the "We the People" program, does not merely press rote facts into receptive minds. It challenges us to use this information as support for our own arguments

and opinions. Undoubtedly, everyone in our class has learned more than they bargained for about the United States Government and her Constitution. But the benefits of this civic education extend beyond learning. This program has allowed us to become involved in the Government that we spend so much time studying.

The Constitution is associated with words which reflect the importance of the American citizen, such as "popular sovereignty," "consensus," and "majority." It is clear who was intended to captain the ship of America: her people. Our Nation is designed to be accessible, to its citizens and to incoming immigrants, to anyone who has ambition and a dream. For me, this lesson has only been confirmed by my experiences this year. "We the People" is not merely a mental exercise or a contest of effort and knowledge. By learning about the Government, one automatically becomes involved in it. I am here today, in front of the Nation's leaders, speaking with a message I hope to convey. I have learned in class that we are blessed with a participatory Government. Today it has been proven to me.

The importance of developing these fundamental principles and values among my generation and future generations was noted by Judge Learned Hand in an article on liberty, published in the Yale Alumni Magazine on June 6, 1941. He said, "I often wonder whether we do not rest our hopes too much upon constitutions, upon laws, and upon courts. These are false hopes; believe me, these are false hopes. Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women, when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no court, no law can even do much to help it. While it lies there it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it . . ."

Mr. Chairman, I thank the committee for giving me this opportunity to testify today.

Senator ALEXANDER. Thank you, Russell, and thank you, Mr. Sullivan.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Berg may be found in additional material.]

Senator ALEXANDER. I wonder, Senator Dodd, if we could go now, having heard from the student, if we go to the teacher, and then ask both of them questions if we have time.

Senator DODD. Sure, absolutely.

Senator ALEXANDER. Blanche Deaderick is from Memphis, TN. She teaches at Germantown High School in Memphis. She is a history teacher, and the reason that I invited her today is because since 1987 she has been the academic director of the Governor's School for International Studies at the University of Memphis. That was one of Tennessee's Governor's Schools that began in 1984 which would attract several hundred high school students to spend a month on one of our university campuses in a particular core academic subject. At the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, it was the sciences. At Middle Tennessee State University, it was the arts. It was humanities at UT-Martin. And it was international studies in Memphis.

We have had a lot of talk today about the need for a congressional academy for students of American history and civics, an opportunity for students in the summer to go for a month, perhaps,

to some educational institution and be inspired by the ideas and the events and the persons who formed our democracy.

Blanche, what I would like to talk with you especially about today is the practicality of making that happen. How useful has a Governor's School been, even though this is in a different subject? How much did it cost to make it work? Where was it held? How was it put together? Those kind of practical things, so as the National Endowment for the Humanities goes about taking applications for these schools in American history and civics, well, they will know more about it.

And may I say, while we have Mr. Sullivan here and Ms. Deaderick here, the competition is wide open. There will be, if this legislation is approved this year—which I think it will be—an opportunity in 12 places in the country to have a Presidential academy for teachers of American history and civics and a congressional academy for students of American history and civics. So it would not hurt my feelings and I doubt if it would hurt Senator Dodd's feelings if the first two were in Connecticut and Tennessee.

So, Blanche Deaderick, welcome. And may I also, as I did earlier, welcome Kate Gooch from Memphis, who was really the pioneer who started the Governor's School for International Studies at the University of Memphis and the director of it for many years.

Ms. DEADERICK. Thank you, Senator Alexander, Senator Dodd. I am so glad to be here today supporting your legislation. I think enhancing instruction in these areas is critical right now. We have to provide remedies for all the problems that have been addressed today, and we have to provide them not only for people who have lived here and their families here for generations, but also for the students or people who have come here, having made conscious choices to come to this country and be here so that obviously they want to know what are the factors that really unify us.

I know what you want me to do is explain how the International Studies Governor's School can be a model for these academies, and I just wanted to thank you for establishing the Governor's Schools, and particularly the International Studies School, because it has been a transforming experience for me in my own life.

Like what is proposed in this legislation, we have a director and core faculty chosen for their subject expertise and for their teaching skills, and because international studies is such a broad field, what we do is divide our students into teams focusing on different areas, and then the expectation is that they will interact and share the knowledge. This sounds a little problematic in light of what Dr. Ravitch said about how things need to be chronological and what we do is not chronological, but I think it works very well.

This year, we are going to be studying—in the four teams, we are going to study Latin America, and they will study the Portuguese language. Our goal is to study nontraditional languages or at least languages that are not routinely taught in the schools. We have a team studying Sub-Saharan Africa and Hausa language; East Asia and Chinese language, and Eastern Europe and Russia along with the Russian language.

Additionally, every day all students address issues of major significance in the world, and so, you know, they spend 2 hours in classes studying language and area studies, and then they come to-

gether, all—this summer we are going to have slightly under 100. The school was designed originally for 150, but with the money the way it is, we have the same budget that we had in 1986, and so what we do is cut the number of students yearly. And so I hope that nobody tries to cut your budget. I worked on your figures, and I decided it may be just possible.

But, anyway, this summer we are going to have a strong focus on the Middle East, on environmental issues, on human rights, just to name a few of the major subjects that people will deal with. And then the students go to an issue analysis class where they examine things like foreign policy decision making or democracy and the conditions necessary for its survival. Yesterday morning, I was watching C-SPAN and I saw Senator DeWine on the Senate floor talking about his clean diamond bill. And I do not know if you all had an opportunity to hear that, but it was so interesting and it is just that kind of issue that we try to deal with at Governor's School, and I thought, well, that is a perfect example of something that is the kind of dilemma that we could look at in a case study, and it would pull together issues of human rights and foreign policy and international economics, looking at something that students would find fascinating, the ideas of the kinds of terrorism and terrorist activities that are financed by that blood diamond trade that the people in Sierra Leone, the revolutionary forces in Sierra Leone have. That is an example of the kind of thing that we deal with.

We also make a very strong effort to infuse the arts into our curriculum because we see that as a powerful statement of what culture is like.

As far as computers—I have added some stuff to this in addressing what other people have said—we do use some computer technology in the Governor's School, and one of the ways that we did that the last time—I don't know if you—I guess you do know that the Governor's School didn't—we didn't have Governor's Schools last summer because they were cut for budget reasons. We will have them again this summer. But we dealt with one issue on hormone-treated beef and another on coffee production where students had to go into the Web and find out everything there was to find—well, not everything, but much of what there was to find out about those issues, and then develop projects and PowerPoint things that tied into the Web. So that is a powerful way to do that. And in our school, we have that kind of facility as well.

This is obviously a very, very intense program, and there is not very much free time. When there is, the students will talk to each other and sometimes get a little chance to sleep, not very much, but you have to be so careful, I think, to select students who really care about what they are doing, so the admissions process is an important thing to consider.

The student academies in American history I thought could be developed along these same lines. There are so many ways to individualize instruction. I mean, students might concentrate on specific periods of history, but they also might look at something like the development of immigration law or civil rights growth. You spoke of the principles of American citizenship like liberty and the rule of law, individualism, separation of church and State. And

those could be issues, the different groups in the American history schools and civics school concentrated on. Each could be an area of study.

I am just suggesting, and I think it would be very, very stimulating to design one of these schools. But what we have to do is make sure that the instruction is unique, individualized, and unpredictable.

At the Tennessee Governor's School, our goal has been to provide experiences that would not ordinarily be found in schools. And to that end, we encourage the faculty to live in the dorms with the students and interact with them as much as possible. There is never a day when the students aren't around asking questions, engaging in debates among themselves and with faculty. Then they go back to their schools exhilarated, ready to share all the newfound knowledge.

The same scenario applies to the teachers' academies, and I heard all the obstacles that have been raised about this issue, but the obstacle that I personally think is the most powerful one is how much teachers have to do in a day. You know, when you are involved in mastering all the newest computer programs for attendance or teaching your subject—in addition to teaching your subject, but guiding the students, teaching manners and ethics, all your paperwork, lesson line, curriculum maps, there are all these things that have to be done so that there is not really very much time left. And the thing that suffers is preparation in the subject. Teachers don't have any time to read and keep up to date, and so that what I see these academies doing is providing them with the time to be involved in scholarly pursuits, developing lessons that are rich in content and depth, and then these lessons are going to be ready to teach. You know, when they go back to school, this will even help with the textbook problems, because, you know, they will go back with lessons that are just there that they can then use to train other teachers with. You know, I can't imagine anything better than spending these weeks in this kind of environment. I think it would be wonderful, and all the teachers will come home with, you know, knowledge, they will be rested, they will be ready to inspire the students and the rest of the faculty.

As for Governor's School, again and again I encounter students who have attended Governor's School in the past, and I hear how their lives have been transformed by the experiences in our classrooms and in their late-night discussions. And, you know, when we see where those students are now—they are in the Foreign Service, they are in State Government, they are in teaching, they are in all kinds of leadership positions. And I know probably a lot of them are in your offices or will be soon. And many, many say that Governor's School was the single shaping event in their lives. And what you can do with this legislation is make the same kind of life-changing experiences for more teachers and more students.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Deaderick may be found in additional material.]

Senator ALEXANDER. Thank you, Ms. Deaderick. We will bring the hearing to a close in just a moment, but I have got a short

question of each of the witnesses, and Senator Dodd may have a question or two himself.

What is the optimum number of students and what is the optimum number of weeks for such a school? If money weren't a problem what would——

Ms. DEADERICK. If money weren't a problem, for students I think the 4-week model that we have is really ideal. What seems to happen is that when it starts, the first 2 or 3 days seem to go on for a long time. And then all of a sudden, you know, you are at the end of the 4 weeks, and the students say, "Oh, please don't make me go home. I just want to stay here for the rest of my life." And, of course, they don't. But, you know, that is the way they feel at that time. I think if we kept them longer, it might not work that well.

I think the optimum number of students is—we were funded originally for 150, and I do not think that is an optimum number. I think maybe 125 at least within the facility that we have would be a better number. But the thing that is particularly important is how much faculty do you have to deal with them, and I think your optimum number has to do with faculty-student ratio. We try to have three faculty for 20 to 25 students.

Senator ALEXANDER. I think the Governor's School in Knoxville in sciences may have had 400 students.

Ms. DEADERICK. Yes, they did, and I did not have that opportunity, and I am only responding to what our system was like.

Senator ALEXANDER. But if you had enough faculty, you could design a larger school.

Ms. DEADERICK. Yes.

Senator ALEXANDER. And would you think that for a teacher 2 weeks is about right, that more than that would not likely fit into a teacher's——

Ms. DEADERICK. Yes. Yes, I think——

Senator ALEXANDER. Four weeks would be hard for a teacher, wouldn't it?

Ms. DEADERICK. Yes, it would.

Senator ALEXANDER. Given other responsibilities. And what is the budget for your school? Do you know?

Ms. DEADERICK. Ours is around $240,000, and I did some figures that I——

Senator ALEXANDER. Does that count what the university contributes?

Ms. DEADERICK. No, it does not.

Senator ALEXANDER. So this is cash from the State.

Ms. DEADERICK. This is cash from the State, and what the university contributes is classroom space and utility bills, you know, the machines that we have to use, all those kinds of things. They give us the dormitory—no, well, we pay for it. The biggest portion of our budget goes for food and lodging. Every year that goes up, and I think we have about $2,500 per student to spend this year, and looking at your figures, it looked like $3,800 per student. I don't know if I did my math correctly or not, but that would be good. That would maybe be equivalent to what we had when we started. When we started the school, we could do a whole lot more than we are able to do now. We have had to cut our faculty.

Senator ALEXANDER. And how many applications did you have the year before last for your spots?

Ms. DEADERICK. For the student spots?

Senator ALEXANDER. Yes.

Ms. DEADERICK. I think that we had—the year before last, I think we had about 400-plus applications, and this year we had 325 for what has come to be about 92 spots.

Senator ALEXANDER. Mr. Berg, if there were in Connecticut a 4-week congressional academy for outstanding students of American history and civics, would you be interested in going? And if you were, what would your advice be to the managers of the school about what you would like to find there?

Mr. BERG. Of course, I would be interested. That would be an incredible opportunity if such a school opened up in Connecticut, or even regionally; it would still be accessible to a lot of motivated students with the support of their schools.

I think some issues that would need to be worked our probably on a school-by-school basis to make these Governor's Schools work would be to accommodate students' other interests, maybe scheduling conflicts with other classes they have. I do not know if high school students have 4 months of their year to devote——

Senator ALEXANDER. It would be 4 weeks.

Mr. BERG. Four weeks.

Senator ALEXANDER. It would be a summertime——

Mr. BERG. Excuse me.

Senator ALEXANDER. No, that is all right.

Mr. BERG. Then summertime would be—that would be perfect. That would be great.

What I would like to see there, if it were to be held on a university campus, I think that would include most of the facilities that students would appreciate, access to computers. With our "We the People" program, computers and the Internet are our greatest resource, along with guidance from expert faculty, etc.

I think it would be an excellent and positive addition to the education of any student in their career.

Senator ALEXANDER. Senator Dodd?

Senator DODD. Well, again, thank you all for your testimony. And we thank you, Mr. Sullivan, for being here as well. You were at Georgetown. Were you in the college or the Foreign Service School?

Mr. Sullivan. College.

Senator DODD. So you did not have my brother as a professor.

Mr. Sullivan. I did not.

Senator DODD. You know, I am listening to you talking about this, and obviously it is a wonderful concept. Just sharing anecdotally with you, as I mentioned earlier, having gone to visit my schools in Connecticut and talking to students, there is a clear distinction, obviously, when I go to some schools in more affluent communities and so forth in my State in terms of the dialogue, the questions, the interchange. And when I go to some of the areas in my State, particularly in the urban areas—you go to Bridgeport, which is very near Trumbull. What does it take, about 15 minutes maybe, to go from Trumbull High to Bassick or Central High School?

Mr. Sullivan. If that.

Senator DODD. If that. Maybe 10 minutes away. And, Mr. Chairman, the disparity and difference between these two schools that are 10 minutes apart from each other in the most affluent State in the country on a per capita income basis, in the most affluent Nation on the face of the earth, is startling. Like many urban schools, because of a lack of resources—the last time I was at Bassick or Central, I think there were maybe five or six computers in the entire school. I think there are police officers on every floor. The buildings are in tough shape, to put it mildly. There is not much of an athletic complex or facilities and so forth. You meet some remarkable students and remarkable teachers there, but students growing up 10 minutes apart from each other, through no fault of their own, are getting a very different educational opportunity. As many as 38 percent of the teachers at Bassick or Central are not certified to teach the course they are teaching. I suspect at Trumbull High School it is probably, what, 1 percent or 2 percent may be not certified to teach the courses they are teaching.

I want to make sure that we do this while we are talking about students that have the wonderful advantages to promote these ideas, that we make a real effort somehow as well to reach out to those students in schools that may have an appetite and desire but for a variety of other reasons, maybe resources, don't have available to them the same kind of a program that exists at Trumbull as a result of Mr. Sullivan's incredible work, the taxpayers of Trumbull who care about it, to their great credit, who have decided this is a priority for them. And I don't want to in any way suggest that because what Trumbull has done that somehow they ought to feel in any way guilty because the next town over, for all the reasons that I have mentioned, and many, many more, are incapable of it.

But I would like to see us be able to do more, and my question really to you goes beyond this particular proposal, which I think is an excellent one and I am a cosponsor of it. What can we do, Ms. Deaderick, in your mind or, Mr. Sullivan, in your mind, as teachers? I have a harder time in urban settings when I start talking about what I do as a Senator. And sometimes the only way I can get it going is to get very provocative. I will say something absolutely outrageous, if nothing else except to try and at least promote some debate, someone to start up and just disagree with me. And I do it intentionally, and then things can get going. But it is much harder for me, I find, than it is at a Trumbull or a Ridgefield High or West Hartford at Hall or Connard, other schools where kids come prepared, fired up with questions. Some of the best questions I ever get—I was at a middle school, at Pulaski Middle School last week in New Britain, CT. Mr. Chairman, 60 students in the class, 25 or 30 of them came from different countries as immigrant children, and about three or four or five of them came from Muslim countries, were dressed in the clothing of Muslims. My State is so diverse in its population and interest. But the questions were fabulous. I mean, I don't think I have had as many good questions, most of all on the Persian Gulf and Iraq, than I have received from, with all due respect to my colleagues who cover me here, our friends from the media. They were wonderful questions. And yet I

know if I go into another area, I am lucky to get any questions at all. I really have to fight hard.

Why are we not doing as well in promoting civics and an appreciation of American history in these areas? And what would you recommend, could be done at a State or local level? I don't suggest that all the answers reside here at all, but we can be educators in the sense by providing a forum for you to share your thoughts. So what ideas do you have about how we could do a better job of promoting education, educational interest in these subject matters in some of our harder-hit schools—schools that are suffering more from some of the items that I have just mentioned like a lack of resources? Any ideas, Ms. Deaderick, on that?

Ms. DEADERICK. Well, I think that, you know, what was said earlier about the teachers being excited about what they are teaching—if teachers seem really to care about what they are teaching, then the students embrace that and are really ready to learn so much more. And I think that one way that these academies that we are talking about right here could help with that is by making sure to reach into the areas that you are describing where people have more problems with resources.

One of the things that we have done in Tennessee is made certain that we select people from as many counties as possible through the State as we can. And, you know, some of our counties are affluent and some of them are very poor. And so that tends to then spread the wealth of the information around. And you could do the same thing with the selection of the teachers to these programs, and the students to the programs as well. But if you make sure to select teachers who come from the disadvantaged areas, then that will be a help. And, of course, if there were money to put teachers into these programs, so many of which have been described today, some of them are free, but many of them are ones that teachers have to pay for. And if there were money to pay the fees for those schools, then that would help as well.

I think that requiring people to be certified in the area they are teaching, I think that, you know, if I am teaching history, I think I need to have a degree in history. And I think if we can do that, that would make a tremendous difference.

Senator DODD. I guess you know this, Mr. Chairman, in our bill we have the academy for students. Do we have a commensurate academy for teachers?

Ms. DEADERICK. Yes.

Senator DODD. Mr. Sullivan?

Mr. Sullivan. Ours is a participatory Government, and I think that our civics education must be participatory as well. And I think that is one of the greatest strengths of programs like the "We the People" program. Russell has been preparing all year for a competition which takes the form of a mock congressional committee hearing and has familiarized himself with that format, never realizing that he would have this opportunity today to do the real thing. But the fact is, you know, he came to me as a student at the beginning of the year probably who had a curiosity about Government, but being exposed to it in a unique way, it has become a great love of his. So if there is a way make civics education more participatory, then it should be pursued.

"We the People" in my own State, I would love it if more schools did it on the one hand. That would make for more competition every year at our State finals. But, you know, the larger goal is more important.

There are other similar programs offered at our school such as a mock trial program, which, again, allows students to learn, you know, the process of a trial and actually learn by doing. So whether it be through clearly established programs like a mock trial or "We the People," that is one thing. Or certainly in the classroom, teachers should be trained in, you know, calling upon other means to do the same thing, even if it is not sponsored as part of an official program. So that would be my strongest recommendation.

Senator DODD. Those are good ideas and suggestions. I don't know if I mentioned to you, visiting schools, Mr. Chairman, is something that I have found—I used to do town hall meetings, but I found out that at those sometimes I ended up being a referee.

Senator ALEXANDER. That is right. [Laughter.]

Senator DODD. I had one guy one time—the last one was about 15 years ago, and some guy showed up dressed as Abraham Lincoln, and another guy showed up—not dressed up, but he was a member of the World Federalist. And they got into a fist fight, and I ended up breaking it up. And that was the picture on the front page of the paper the next day, not what I had to say or anybody else. I decided that was enough.

So I started doing schools as a way of getting out and listening to people, and I found particularly high schools, juniors and seniors, middle schools—and we tried to mix it up a little bit. But the value I think it has is—I don't come unannounced, and so the schools are going to get ready because the Senator is going to come. And so there is some discussion about what students ought to ask. I suspect that some of the students go home and tell their parents the Senator is going to come, what do you think I ought to ask? And I think that may generate a little conversation at home about what a Senator is and what I do.

Then while you are there, it has a value, and I think after you leave, there is usually discussion about what I had to say. So it has this kind of ripple effect beyond just this site visit. It has its own, I think, value. That is why I encourage my colleagues to do more of it so that people can hear us answer questions or say we don't know, we will have to find the answer out for you. There is a value in that as well.

But I would encourage anything that could be done to really reach into these communities as well, Mr. Sullivan. I don't know how you could—you have done so well at this. We ought to think back home on how we might get you around to go maybe visit some of these schools and talk about the program and how it works and how people can participate so that we can see greater participation in this civics exercise. Maybe you and I ought to talk about that and how we could maybe achieve that. Maybe I will take you with me to some of these urban schools and get you a chance to get up and talk to people about participating next year or the year after in the program.

Mr. Sullivan. I would welcome that opportunity. I am a firm believer in this program and would love to share its merits with other schools.

Senator ALEXANDER. Well, I have a suggestion, Senator Dodd. Mr. Sullivan could—we can get this bill passed. Mr. Sullivan can work with Russell and his other students and his fellow teachers, and he can put in an application to the National Endowment for the Humanities, and he can create a Presidential academy for teachers or a congressional academy for students and be the director of it. And in that way, he might invite teachers from those schools. I mean, it could be aimed at schools that have fewer resources and a greater need. That is certainly a rationale for a school. I mean, we are looking for many different ideas, and as I mentioned earlier, I hope that—I see no reason why the University of Memphis with its years of experience in operating a successful Governor's School couldn't be a potential applicant for a Presidential academy or a congressional academy for American history.

Ms. DEADERICK. We want you to come down to the Governor's School this summer and, you know, be a representative and show them that you are the person who made this Governor's School happen.

Senator ALEXANDER. I am likely to do it, Blanche.

I thank you. We have gotten to noon, and I think unless the Senator has other questions, let me thank you, Ms. Deaderick, Russell, Mr. Sullivan, let me thank you for coming. You have really helped us a great deal. We have had quite a—Senator Dodd, we started with David McCullough at 9:00 a.m., and we had the heads of the National Endowment for Humanities, the Library of Congress, and the Under Secretary of Education. We had Diane Ravitch, a distinguished historian of American history, and we have had a teacher, an outstanding teacher, and an outstanding student. So we are off to a good start. We have 19 cosponsors, including the Democratic Whip, Senator Reid, who asked me to incorporate his statement into the record, which I will do.

[The prepared statement of Senator Reid follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR REID

The education of America's children must be one. of our top priorities. These children are our future, and we need to give them the tools to be Great leaders of that future. Our schools have several important responsibilities to achieve that end, including providing students with the foundation to pursue higher education, helping them develop their individual potential and preparing them for successful careers.

America has been a nation of immigrants for hundreds of rears. And our schools have helped instill in our diverse population a sense of what it means to be an American and have prepared our youth for the responsibilities of citizenship. We need to reaffirm the importance of learning American history and maintaining civic understanding.

As I work to make sure that all schoolchildren, and especially those in Nevada, are connected to the Internet and to the future, I also want them to be connected to America's past and to know

the common values and history that bind together all who live in our great nation.

Senator ALEXANDER. The bill is introduced in the House of Representatives by Roger Wicker and others, exactly the same bill, and so we hope it is enacted and we hope we can play a role in taking all the various programs, nearly a dozen of them throughout the Federal Government that focus on putting the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our curriculum so our children can grow up learning what it means to be an American.

I would like to also place into the record the testimony of the National Conference on Citizenship, Philip Duncan, the executive director.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Duncan may be found in additional material.]

Senator ALEXANDER. I would like to add my maiden speech on the subject, which I made a few weeks ago when I introduced the bill.

[The prepared speech follows:]

PREPARED REMARKS OF SENATOR ALEXANDER ON THE INTRODUCTION OF HIS BILL: THE AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVICS EDUCATION ACT—MARCH 4, 2003

Mr. President, from the Senate's earliest days, new members have observed a ritual of remaining, silent during floor debates for a period of time that ranged from several weeks to two years. By waiting a respectful amount of time before giving their so-called "maiden speeches," freshman senators hoped their senior colleagues would respect them for their humility.

This information comes from the Senate historian, Richard Baker, who told me that in 1906, the former Governor of Wisconsin, Robert LaFollette arrived here "anything but humble." He waited just three months, a brief period by the standards of those days, before launching his first major address. He spoke for eight hours over three days: his remarks in the Congressional Record consumed 148 pages. As he began to speak, most of the senators present in the chamber pointedly rose from their desks and departed. LaFollette's wife, observing from the gallery, wrote, "There was no mistaking that this was a polite form of hazing."

From our first day here, the new members of this 108th Congress have been encouraged to speak up, and most of us have. But, with the encouragement of the majority leader, several of its intend also to revive the tradition of the maiden address by making a signature speech on an issue that is important both to the country and to each of us. I Want to thank my colleagues who are here and assure them that I will not speak for three days—as former Governor LaFollette did.

Mr. President, I rise to address the intersection of two urgent concerns that will determine our country's future. These are also the two topics about which I care the most: the education of our children and the principles that unite us as Americans.

It is time that we put the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools so our children can grow up learning what it means to be an American.

Especially during such serious times when our values and way of life are being attacked, we must understand clearly just what those values are.

In this, most Americans would agree. For example, in Thanksgiving remarks in 2001, President Bush praised our nation's response to September 11. "I call it," he said, "the American character." Speaking at Harvard at about the same time, former Vice-President Al Gore said, "We should [fight] for the values that bind us together as a country."

Both men were invoking a creed of ideas and values in which most Americans believe. "It has been our fate as a nation," the historian Richard Hofstadter wrote, "not to have ideologies but to be one." This value based identity has inspired both patriotism and division at home, both emulation and hatred abroad. For terrorists, as well as for those who admire America, at issue is the United States itself—not what we do, but who we are.

Yet our children do not know what makes America exceptional. National exams show that three-quarters of the nation's 4th, 8th and 12th graders are not proficient

in civics knowledge and one-third does not even have basic knowledge, making them "civic illiterates."

Children are not learning about American history and civics because they are not being taught it. American history has been watered down and civics is too often dropped from the curriculum entirely.

Until the 1960s, civics education, which teaches the duties of citizenship, was a regular part of the high school curriculum. Today's college graduates probably have less civics knowledge than high school graduates of 50 years ago. Reforms in the '60s and '70s resulted in the widespread elimination of required classes and curriculum in civics education. Today, more than half the states have no requirement for students to take a course—even for one semester—in American government.

To help put the teaching of American history and civics in its rightful place. I introduce legislation today to create Presidential Academies for Teachers of American History and Civics and Congressional Academies for Students of American History—and Civics. These residential academies would operate for two weeks (in the case of teachers) and four weeks (for students) during the summer.

Their purpose would be to inspire better teaching and more learning of the key events, persons and ideas that shape the institutions and democratic heritage of the United States.

I have had some experience with such residential summer academies, when I served as Governor of Tennessee. In 1984, Tennessee began creating Governor's schools for students and teachers. For example, there was the Governor's School for the Arts at Middle Tennessee State University and the Governor's School of International Studies at the University of Memphis as well as the Governor's School for Teachers of writing at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. Eventually there were eight Governor's Schools helping thousands of Tennessee teachers improve their skills and inspiring outstanding students to learn more about core curriculum subjects. When these teachers and students returned to their schools for the next school year, they brought with them a new enthusiasm for teaching and learning that infected their peers. Dollar for dollar, the Governor's Schools were one of the most effective and popular educational initiatives in our state's history.

States other than Tennessee have had similar success with summer residential academies. The first Governor's school was started in North Carolina in 1963 when Governor Terry Sanford established it at Salem College in Winston-Salem. Upon the establishment of the first school, several states, including Georgia, South Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee established similar schools.

For example, in 1973 Pennsylvania established Governor's Schools of Excellence, which has 14 different programs of study. As in Tennessee, students participating in the Pennsylvania Governor's School program attend academies at 8 different colleges to study everything from international studies, to health care and teaching. Also established in 1973, Virginia's Governor's School is a summer residential program for 7500 of the Commonwealth's most gifted students. Mississippi established its Governor's School in 1981. The Mississippi University for Women hosts the program, which is designed to give students academic, creative, and leadership experiences. Every year West Virginia brings 80 of its most talented high school performing and visual arts students to West Liberty State College for a three-week residential program.

These are just a few of the approximately 100 Governors' schools in 28 states—clearly the model is a good one. The legislation I propose today applies that successful model to American history and civics education at the national level by establishing Presidential and Congressional academies for American history and civics.

Additionally, this proposed legislation authorizes the creation of a national alliance of American history and civics teachers who would be connected by the Internet. The alliance would facilitate sharing of best practices in the teaching of American history and civics. It is modeled after an alliance I helped the National Geographic Society begin during the 1980's to put geography back into the American school curriculum. Tennessee and the University of Tennessee were among the first sponsors of the alliance.

My legislation creates a pilot program. Up to 12 Presidential academies for teachers and 12 Congressional Academies for students would be sponsored by educational institutions. The National Endowment for the Humanities would award 2-year renewable grants to those institutions after applications are subjected to a peer review process. Each grant would be subject to rigorous review after three years to determine whether the overall program should continue or expand. The legislation authorizes $25 million annually for the four year pilot program.

There is a broad basis of renewed support for and interest in American history and civics in our country.

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As David Gordon notes in a recent issue of the Harvard Education Letter: "A 1995 surrey by the nonpartisan research organization Public Agenda showed that 84 percent of parents with school aged children said they believe that the United States is a special country and they want schools to convey that belief to their children by teaching about its heroes and traditions. Similar numbers identified the American ideal as including equal opportunity, individual freedom, and tolerance and respect for others. Those findings were consistent across racial and ethnic groups."

Our national leadership has responded to this renewed interest. In 2000, at the initiative of my distinguished colleague Senator Byrd, Congress created grants for schools that teach American history as a separate subject within school curricula. We appropriated $100 Million for the Byrd Grants in the recent Omnibus appropriations bill, and rightfully so. They encourage schools and teachers to focus on the teaching of traditional American history, and provide important financial support.

Last September, with historian David McCullough at his side, President Bush announced a new initiative to encourage better teaching of American history and civics. He established the "We the People" program at the NEH, which will develop curricula and sponsor lectures on American history and civics. He announced the "Our Documents' project, run by the National Archives. "Our Documents" brings one hundred of America's most important documents from the National Archives to classrooms and communities across the country. This year, he will convene a White House forum on American history, civics, and service. There, we will discuss new policies to improve the teaching of history and civics in elementary and secondary schools.

My proposed legislation takes the next step by training teachers and encouraging outstanding students. We need to foster a love of this subject and arm teachers with the skills to impart that love to their students.

I am pleased that today one of the leading members of the House of Representatives, Roger Wicker of—Mississippi, along with a number of his colleagues, are introducing the same legislation in that House.

I want to thank Senator Gregg, Chairman of the Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, who has agreed that the committee will hold hearings promptly on this legislation so that eye can determine how it might supplement and work with recently enacted legislation and the President's own initiative.

Mr. President, in 1988, at a meeting of educators in Rochester, the President of Notre Dame University asked this question: "What is the rationale for the public school?" There was an unexpected silence around the room until Al Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, answered in this way: "The public school was created to teach immigrant children the three R's and what it means to be an American with the hope that they would then go home and teach their parents."

From the founding of America, we have always understood how important it is for citizens to understand the principles that unite us as a country. Other countries are united by, their ethnicity. If you move to Japan, you can't become Japanese. Americans, on the other hand, are united by a few principles in which we believe. To become an American citizen, you subscribe to those principles. If there were no agreement on those principles, Samuel Huntington has noted, we would be the United Nations instead of the United States of America.

There has therefore been a continuous education process to remind Americans just what those principles are. In his retirement at Monticello, Thomas Jefferson would spend evenings explaining to overnight guests what he had in mind when he helped create what we call America. By the mid-19th century it was just assumed that most Americans knew what it meant to be an American. In his letter from the Alamo, Col. William Barrett Travis pleaded for help simply "in the name of liberty, patriotism and everything dear to the American character."

New waves of immigration in the late 19th century brought to our country a record number of new people from other lands whose view of what it means to be an American was indistinct—and Americans responded by teaching them. In Wisconsin, for example, the Kohler Company housed German immigrants together so that they might be Americanized during non-working hours.

But the most important Americanizing institution, as Mr. Shanker reminded us in Rochester in 1988, was the new common school. McGuffey's Reader, which was used in many classrooms, sold more than 120 million copies introducing a common culture of literature, patriotic speeches and historical references.

The wars of the 20th century made Americans stop and think about what we were defending. President Roosevelt made certain that those who charged the beaches of Normandy knew they were defending for freedoms.

But after World War II, the emphasis on teaching and defining the principles that unite its waned. Unpleasant experiences with McCarthyism in the 1950's, discour-

agement after the Vietnam War, and history books that left out or distorted the history of African-Americans made some skittish about discussing "Americanism." The end of the Cold War removed a preoccupation with who we were not, making it less important to consider who we are. The Immigration law changes in 1965 brought to our shores many new Americans and many cultural changes. As a result, the American Way became much more often praised than defined.

Changes in community attitudes, as they always are, were reflected in our schools. According to historian Diane Ravitch, the public school virtually abandoned its role as the chief Americanizing Institution. We have gone, she explains, from one extreme (simplistic patriotism and incomplete history) to the other—"public schools with an adversary culture that emphasize the nation's warts and diminish its genuine accomplishments. There is no literary canon. No common reading, no agreed upon lists of books, poems and stories from which students and parents might be taught a common culture and be reminded of what it means to be an American."

During, this time many of our national leaders contributed to this drift toward agnostic Americanism. These leaders celebrated multiculturalism and bilingualism and diversity at a time when there should have been more emphasis on a common culture and learning English and unity.

America's variety and diversity is a great strength, but it is not our greatest strength. Jerusalem is diverse. The Balkans are diverse. America's greatest accomplishment is not its variety and diversity but that we have found a way to take all that variety and diversity and unite as one country. E pluribus unum: out of many, one. That is what makes America truly exceptional.

Since 9/11 things have been different. The terrorists focused their cross-hairs on the creed that unites Americans as one country forcing us to remind ourselves of those principles, to examine and define them and to celebrate them. The President has been the lead teacher. President Bush has literally taken us back to school on what it means to be an American. When he took the country to church on television after the attacks he reminded us that no country is more religious than we are. When he walked across the street to the mosque he reminded the world that we separate church and state and that there is freedom here to believe in whatever one wants to believe. When he attacked and defeated the Taliban, he honored life. When we put planes back in the air and opened financial markets and began going to football games again we honored liberty. The President called on us to make those magnificent images of courage and charity and leadership and selflessness after 9/11 more permanent in our every day lives. And with his optimism, he warded off doomsayers who tried to diminish the real gift of Americans to civilization, our cockeyed optimism that anything is possible.

Just after 9/11, I proposed an idea I called "Pledge Plus Three." Why not start each school day with the Pledge of Allegiance—as we did this morning here in the Senate—followed by a faculty member or student sharing for three minutes "what it means to be an American." The Pledge embodies many of the ideals of our National Creed: "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." It speaks to our unity, to our faith, to our value of freedom, and to our belief in the fair treatment of all Americans. If more future federal judges took more classes in American history and civics and learned about those values, we might have fewer mind-boggling decisions like the one issued by the Ninth Circuit.

Before I was elected to the Senate, I taught some of our future judges and legislators a course at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government entitled "The American Character and America's Government." The purpose of the course was to help policy makers, civil servants and journalists analyze the American creed and character and apply it in the solving of public policy problems. We tried to figure out, if you will, what would be "the American way" to solve a given problem.

The students and I did not have much trouble deciding that America is truly exceptional (not always better, but truly exceptional) or in identifying the major principles of an American Creed or the distinct characteristics of our country. Such principles as: liberty, equal opportunity, rule of law, individualism, e pluribus unum, the separation of church and state.

But what we also found was that applying those principles to today's issues was hard work. This was because the principles of the creed often conflicted. For example, when discussing President Bush's faith-based charity legislation, we knew that "In God We Trust" but we also knew that we didn't trust government with God.

When considering whether the federal government should pay for scholarships which middle and low income families might use at any accredited school—public, private or religious—we found that the principle of equal opportunity conflicted with the separation of church and state.

And we found there are great disappointments when we try to live up to our greatest dreams, for example—President Kennedy's pledge that we will "Pay any

price or bear any burden" to defend freedom, or Thomas Jefferson's assertion that "all men are created equal," or the American dream that for anyone who works hard, tomorrow will always be better than today.

We learned that, as Samuel Huntington has written, balancing these conflicts and disappointments is what most of American politics and government is about.

Mr. President, if most of our politics and government is about applying to our most urgent problems the principles and characteristics that make the United States of America an exceptional country—then we had better yet about the teaching and learning of those principles and characteristics.

The legislation I propose today will help our schools do what they were established to do in the first place. At a time when there are record numbers of new Americans, and at a time when our values are under attack, at a time when we are considering going to war to defend those values, there can be no more urgent task than putting the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools so our children can grow up learning what it means to be an American.

Senator ALEXANDER. Also, I am going to put in the record, Senator Dodd, without objection, I hope, the syllabus that I used the last two semesters at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, where I taught a course called "The American Character and America's Government."

[The prepared syllabus follows:]

PAL 223—THE AMERICAN CHARACTER AND AMERICA'S GOVERNMENT: USING THE AMERICAN CREED TO MAKE DECISIONS

Professor: Lamar Alexander, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Spring 2002, Tuesdays, 4:10 p.m.—6:00 p.m., Classroom: L382/Kahn

Course Credit: 1, Limited Enrollment, First class: 2'5

OBJECTIVE OF THE COURSE

To help future decision-makers use the principles of the American Creed to solve difficult, contemporary public policy problems. Students will first explore America's "exceptionalism": how an idea-based national ideology makes the United States different from other countries-including other Western democracies. Then, each session will analyze one value of the "American Creed"—and how it conflicts with other values and/or creates unrealized expectations—in the solving of a specific problem. Students will simulate realistic policymaking situations and produce professional products as assignments: concise memos, outlines and briefings.

RATIONALE FOR THE COURSE

In Thanksgiving remarks President Bush praised the nation's response to September 11. "I call it." he said. "the American Character". At KSG Al Gore said. "We should [fight] for the values that bind us together as a country". Both men were invoking a creed of ideas and values in which most Americans believe. "It has been our fate as a nation," Richard Hofstader wrote, "not to have ideologies but to be one." This value-based national identity has inspired both patriotism and division at home, both emulation and hatred abroad. For terrorists as well as for those who admire America, at issue is the United States itself—not what we do, but who we are.

Yet Americans who unite on principle divide and suffer disappointment when using their creed to solve policy problems. This is because the values of the creed conflict (e.g., liberty vs. equality, individualism vs. community and because American dreams are loftier than American reality (e.g., "all men cue created equal", "tomorrow will be better than today"). Samuel Huntington has said that balancing these conflicts and disappointments is what most of American politics and government is about. That is also what this course is about.

AUDIENCE

The Course is designed for future police makers—civil servants, and journalists. A general knowledge of American politics is helpful but not required. It should be useful for both U.S. and international students seeking to learn more about the American system of government and how it differs from that of other countries.

INSTRUCTOR

Lamar Alexander, The Roy M. and Barbara Goodman Family Visiting Professor of Practice in Public Service, has been Governor of Tennessee. President of the University of Tennessee, and U.S. Education Secretary. He co-founded Bright Horizons Family Solutions, Inc., now the nations largest provider of worksite day care. His seven books include Six Months Off, the story of his family's trip to Australia after eight years in the Governors residence. In 1996 and 2000 he was a candidate for the Republican nomination for President of the United States.

Office: Littauer 101, Telephone: (617) 384-7354.

Office hours will generally be on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. A sign up sheet will be posted outside Professor Alexander's door.

COURSE ASSISTANT

Matt Sonnesyn will be course assistant for PAL 223.

EXPECTATIONS

This is a graduate level professional course and will have the corresponding standards and assignments: attendance at all scheduled classes, assignments completed on time, and evaluation according to students' preparation of professional products—crisp and realistic decision memos, memo outlines, and policy briefings. All briefings are conducted in class and all decision memos and weekly outlines are due at the beginning of the corresponding class session. There is no final exam, but there will be a final paper.

GRADING

Briefings (2): team exercise 20%

Two times during the course each student will participate in a team briefing on that Week's subject.

Memos (2): team exercise 20%

Two other times during the course each student will participate in a team preparing a three-page decision memo on that week's subject. The student may select these from among the class topics.

Weekly Outlines (6): 20%

Six other times during the course each student will prepare a one-page analysis of the week's problem. (This will be during those weeks when the student is not involved in preparing a team briefing or team memo.)

As a result, for ten of the twelve class sessions. each student will have an assignment to (other than reading) that requires preparation outside of class—either a team briefing, a team memo, or an individual weekly metro outline.

Class participation and attendance: 15%

Final Paper: 25%

Final grades will be determined by students' overall position in the class as measured by performance on each of the assignments and will conform to the Kennedy School of Government's recommended range of grading distribution.

MATERIALS

The course relies primarily on course packets to be made available for sale at the Course Materials Office. There will be 125-150 pages of reading each week. There are three required textbooks:

(1) Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, translated and edited by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop. The University of Chicago Press, 2000.

(2) Seymour Martin Lipset, American Exceptionalism, W.W., Norton & Co., 1997(paperback);

(3) Samuel P. Huntington. "American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony", The Belknap Press of Harvard University 1981.

All three books are available for purchase at the Harvard Coop. Copies of all three books are on reserve in the KSG library.

Note: Readings from the three required textbooks or readings which are readily available online are not included in the course packet. (Hypertext links to the online readings may be found within the syllabus that is posted on the KSG website.)

ENROLLMENT

The course has a limited enrollment. Auditors are permitted with permission of the instructor.

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COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIRED READINGS

2/5—My "ism" is Americanism, American Exceptionalism
One hundred and one ways Americans are different. So what?
Alexis de Toqueville, Democracy in America, edited by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2000, pp. 2-15, 90, 585-587, 225-226.
G.K. Chesterson. What I Saw in America, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1922. pp. 6-12.
Daniel J. Boorstin. "Why a Theory Seems Needless", The Genius of American Politics. 1953, The University of Chicago Press. p. 8-35.
Samuel P. Huntington, "The American Creed and National Identity," American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony, 1981. pp. 13-30.
Albert Hourani, A History of the Arab Peoples, 1991. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, pp. 46-58.
Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations, Simon and Schuster, 1996, pp. 40-55, 68-78, 301-308.
Seymour Martin Lipset, American Exceptionalism, pp. 17-34
2/12—". . .) where at least I know I'm free . . . Liberty
Should Congress repeal President Bush's executive order allowing non-citizens suspected of international terrorism to be detained and tried in special military tribunals"
Alexis de Toqueville, ibid, pp. 239-242, 246-249. 301, 639-640.
U.S. Constitution and amendments, 1787
John Stuart Mill, "The Authority of Society and the Individual", On Liberty, 1859, Hackett Publishing Co. edition, 1978, pp. 73-91.
Carl Brent Swisher, American Constitutional Development, Greenwood Press, Connecticut, 1954, pp. 276-292, 1017-1025.
Samuel P. Huntington, "The American Creed vs. Political Authority," American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony, 1981, pp. 31-60.
Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May, Thinking in Time, The Free Press, pp. 232-246, 1988.
An Executive Order of President George W. Bush, "Detention Treatment and Trail of Certain Non-Citizens in the War against Terrorism", November 13, 2001.
Jeffrey Rosen, "Testing the Resilience of American Values", The New York Times Week in Review, Sunday, Nov. 18, 2001, pp. 1 and 4.
Laurence H. Tribe, Statement before U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, December 4, 2001.
"American Attitudes Toward Civil Liberties", public Opinion survey, by Kasier Foundation, National Public Radio and Kennedy School of Government, December 2001.
2/19—In God We Trust . . . but we don't trust government with God Christianity, pluralism and the state
Should Congress enact President Bush's faith-based charity legislation?
Alexis de Toqueville, ibid, pp. 278-288.
John Locke, "A Letter Concerning Toleration", Diane Ravitch and Abigail Thernstrom, The Democracy Reader, NY: HarperCollins, 1992, ibid., pp. 31-37.
Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia", Ravitch and Thernstrom, ibid., pp, 108-109.
James Madison, "Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments", 1785, The Writings of James Madison, NY: Putnam, 1908.
"Separation of Church and State in American Brought about by the Scotch-Irish of Virginia", Charles. A. Hanna, The Scotch Irish, Vol. II, 1985, Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, pp. 157-162.
Philip Schaff, America: A Sketch of its Political, Social and Religious Character, 1961, The Belknap Press of Harvard University, pp. 72-83.
Engel vs. Vitale, 370. U.S. 421 (1962)
Marvin Olasky. "The Early American Model of Compassion", The Tragedy of American Compassion, Regnery, Publishing, Washington, D.C., 1992, pp. 6-23.
Lamar Alexander, "Homeless, not hopeless", We Know What to Do, William Morrow, New York, 1995, pp. 35-51.
Two Executive Orders of President George W. Bush. "Establishment of White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives" and "Agency Responsibilities with respect to Faith-based Community Initiatives". January 29, 2001.
2/19—"Leave no child behind" Equal Opportunity
Should the federal government pay for scholarships that middle and low-income families may use at any accredited school—public, private or religious?
Alexis de Toqueville, ibid, pp. 41-42.

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Horace Mann, "Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, 1848" in Daniel J. Boorstin, An American Primer, Meridian, 1995, pp. 361-375.

Charles Leslie Glenn, Jr. The Myth of the Common School, The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988, pp. 146-158.

Lamar Alexander, "The GI Bill for Kids", The John Ashbrook Lecture, presented at Ashland (O.) University, 9/12/92.

Thomas J. Kane, "Lessons from the Largest School Voucher Program", Who Chooses? Who Loses?, edited by Bruce Fuller and Richard F. Elmore, Teachers College Press, 1996, pp. 173-183.

Michael W. McConnell. "Legal and Constitutional Issues of Vouchers", Vouchers and the Provision of Public Schools, The Brookings Institution, 2000, pp. 368-391.

Eliot M. Minceberg and Judith E. Schaeffer,—Grades K-12: The Legal Problems with Public Funding of Religious Schools', Vouchers and the Provision of Public Schools, pp. 394—403.

Diane Ravitch, "American Traditions of Education", Terry M. Moe, A Primer on America's Schools, Hoover Institution Press, 2001, pp. 1-14.

Paul Peterson, "Choice in American Education", A Primer on America's Schools, pp. 249-283.

Diane Ravitch, "Ex Uno Plures", Education Next, Fall 2001, pp. 27-29

3/5—Equal at the starting line . . . but what about those with shackles? Individualism

Should the federal government pay for race-based college scholarships?

Alexis de Toqueville, ibid., pp. 326-334, 347-348; 482-488.

The Declaration of Independence, 1776

Abraham Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address (1856)

Frederick Douglass, "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?"

Martin Luther King, Jr., address at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., August 28. 1963.

Excerpts from University of California Regents vs. Bakke, 438 U.S. 265 (1978)

Testimony of Lamar Alexander, U.S. Education Secretary, Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 102nd Congress, 2nd session, Feb. 20, 1992, pp. 39-46, 82-89, 99-102.

Seymour Martin Lipset. "Two Americas", American Exceptionalism, pp. 113-150.

Abigail Thernstrom and Stephen Thernstrom, America in Black and White, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1997, pp. 530-545.

Cornel West. "Malcolm X and Black Rage", Race Matters, Random House, Vintage Books, New York, 2001, pp. 135-151.

3/12—A nation of immigrants . . . but all Americans E Pluribus Unam

Should illegal aliens have Illinois driver's licenses? discounted tuition at state colleges? free medical care? should their children attend public schools?

Alexis de Toqueville, Ibid., pp. 29-30, 32, 34-37, 268.

J. Hector St. John de Crevecouer, "What is an American", Letters from an American Farmer, 1782. Penguin Books edition 1986, pp. 67-90.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Disuniting of America, W.W., Norton, New York, 1991, pp. 9-43.

Carlos E. Cortes, "Limits to pluribus, limits to unum", National Forum, Baton Rouge, Winter, 1992. pp. 6-10.

Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations, Simon and Schuster, 1996. pp. 198-206.

J. Harvie Wilkinson, "The Medley of America", One Nation Indivisible, Addison Wesley, 1997, pp. 3-21.

Griffin Bell, "The Changing Role of Migrants in the United States". Address to the International Leadership Issues Conference of State Legislative Leaders Foundation, Budapest, October 4, 2001.

David Cohen, Chasing the Red, White and Blue. New York, 2001, St. Martin's Press, pp. 218-286, 250-260

Morris P. Fiorina and Paul E. Peterson, The New American Democracy, Longman, 2002. pp. 99-108.

3/19—Suspending the constitution in order to save it. Rule of Law.

Should the governor-elect seize office three days early to prevent the incumbent governor from selling pardons for cash?

Alexis de Tocqueville, ibid., pp. 229-231.

US Constitution, 25th Amendment

Tennessee Constitution Article 3, Section 12

Tennessee Acts Section 8-1-107

Lou Fuller, "The Morality that Makes Law Possible", The Morality of Law, Yale Law School Press, 1964, pp. 33-44.

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John D. Feerick. The Twenty-Fifth Amendment: Its Complete History and Earliest Applications, Fordham University Press, 1976. pp. 3-23, 193-206.
Bush vs. Gore, 2000
Al Gore, address to the nation, December 13, 2000.
Paul F. Boller, Jr., "Picking the Day", Presidential Inaugurations, Harcourt, Inc., 2001.
James W. Torke. "What Is This Thing Called the Rule of Law?" Indiana Law Review, Volume 34, 2001, pp. 1445-56.
Dotty Lynch, "Back to Abnormal", Sept. 28, 2001, from CBS News Site,
Tim McGirk, "Wahid's In, Megawati's Out", Dec. 8, 2001, from Time Asia
Gordon Silverstein, "Globalization and the Rule of Law", mimeo, The University of Minnesota, 2001.
3/26—Harvard break
4/2—"Ask not what your country can do for you . . . Community
Should all high school graduates perform one mandatory year of community service?
Alexis de Toqueville, ibid, pp. 56-58. 577-78, 489-92.
Robert L. Bellah, et al, Habits of the Heart, University of California Press, 1985, pp. vii-xxxv, 275-296.
Daniel Boorstin. "From Charity to Philanthropy", Hidden History. Vintage, New York, 1989, pp. 193-209.
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Barry Alan Shain, The Myth of American Individualism, Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. xii-xix.
Lamar Alexander, "What's Wrong With American Giving and How to Fix It," Philanthropy, Summer 1997.
Robert D. Putnam, Bowling Alone, Simon & Schuster, 2000, pp. 15-28, 45-64, 116-133.
4/9—Why Americans don't trust Washington, D.C. A government of, by and for the people
Should the U.S. create a citizen congress: cut their pay and send them home six months a year, adopt term limits and two-year federal budgets?
Alexis de Toqueville, ibid. pp. 53-55
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Senator ALEXANDER. And most of the classes were spent doing the kind of thing that you suggested, Ms. Deaderick. We would take an issue, we would take a principle that unites us as a country, like freedom, and a contemporary issue before the U.S. Senate, like did President Bush go too far with the first military tribunal, and we would divide up into teams and we would debate that. And the next week we would take a question like should the Federal Government pay for scholarships based solely on race, and we would debate that.

But the way we would debate it is to try to identify the principle that was at stake, and what we normally found was, say, in that latter case, we had the principle of equal opportunity on the one side and the principle of individualism on the other side, and they are both principles that we all agree with, but when we apply them to our current issues, we get conflict. So most of our politics and most of our Government is about conflicts of principles about which we agree and about disappointments we have when we don't reach our dreams, like pay any price, bear any burden to defend freedom. We don't always do that. All men are created equal. They always weren't in this country.

So those are the conflicts and those are the disappointments that most of our history is about and which create wonderful stories like David McCullough's book on John Adams. And what we hope through this is not to—we want to leave the teaching right where it ought to be, in the local classroom in the local schools. We want

to leave the curriculum setting where it ought to be, with the State and local governments. But maybe through these summer residential academies we can put a spotlight on and encourage and inspire the teaching and learning of American history and civics.

I want to thank Senator Dodd for his leadership and for being a part of this and for inviting Mr. Berg, and thank you, Blanche.

The hearing is adjourned.

[Additional material follows:]

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR BYRD

Harry Truman once said, "The only thing new in the world is the history you don't know." Given the woeful state of history education in this country, Americans must believe that plenty of things are new.

A September 2002 report by the American Council of Trustees and Alumni reveals a troubling lack of historical literacy among college students. That report was based on a survey of seniors from fifty of Americas top colleges and universities. Those seniors were given high-school level questions. According to the report, nearly 81 percent of the college seniors who participated would have received a grade of D or F. Among the hardest questions for students to answer correctly were those concerning earl, American history. For example, when students were asked to name the "Father of the Constitution," only twenty-three percent correctly chose James Madison. And this is at the college level!

The situation is not any better at the elementary and secondary level. The National Assessment of Educational Progress conducted in 2001 reported that only two out of ten students in grades four through eight, and one out of ten students in grade twelve were deemed "proficient" in U.S. history.

History is not only the common memory that we all share, but it is also in excellent teacher. Too many schools today lump history together with other subjects and package there as courses broadly titled "social studies." This conglomeration certainly does not provide the kind of focused study that history deserves and requires. Moreover, it shortchanges our young people who will some day be the leaders of this nation of a grounding in the basic philosophies and values that served to form the foundation of America.

The importance of learning from history is heightened when we are at war. It is critical that our current military leaders have studied the great battles of history and will not repeat mistakes that doomed battles in the past. Imagine if these generals and admirals had not thoroughly examined the lessons of past wars, and instead took a composite course called "Aggressive Studies."

I am a lifelong student of history. Even though this subject is so important and such a rich treasure of information, I regret that today's young people do not have a strong appreciation for it. If they are to have any hope of being prepared to lead in the future. America's students need a deeper understanding of this nation's past.

To help address this problem, three years ago I created the Teaching American History Grant Program. This program has Infused $250 million—$50 million in Fiscal Year 2001, $100 million in Fiscal Year 2002, and $100 million again in this fiscal year—in the nation's classrooms to encourage more schools to develop, implement, and strengthen classes in American history. By helping teachers to develop a better understanding and appreciation of American history as a separate subject matter within the core curriculum, this program seeks to improve instruction and raise student achievement.

Mr. Chairman [Senator Lamar Alexander], in your maiden speech before the U.S. Senate, you sought to emphasize the importance of restoring the teaching of American history and civics to its rightful place in our schools so that students can grow up learning what it means to be an American. I commend you for this, and I appreciate your kind remarks about my Teaching American History Grant Program.

At that time, you introduced S. 504, the American History and Civics Act, which would establish Presidential Academies for teachers of American history and civics, and Congressional Academies for students of American history and civics. I understand that your legislation would also create a National Alliance of Teachers of American History and Civics to allow the sharing of ideas and best practices among American history and civics teachers.

I hope that your efforts will complement the Teaching American History Grant Program that is already in place, and I would be pleased if you would add my name as a cosponsor to your legislation.

No remarks on the subject of history would be complete without a quote from the Roman orator and statesman Cicero. I close with his observation that, "History is the witness that testifies to the passing of time: it illumines reality, vitalizes memoir, provides guidance in daily life and bring's us tidings of antiquity."

Cicero's words from two millennia ago still ring true today. I hope that our efforts can help to provide students with this guidance.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR CORNYN

Thank you, Mr. Chairman for allowing me to make a brief statement on the American History and Civics Education Act (S. 504). First, I would like to say thank you to my good friend and colleague, Senator Lamar Alexander from Tennessee, for introducing S. 504 to show the country's commitment to educating our children about the history and principles of American government. Young Americans deserve to learn about the Constitution, Bill of Rights, our Founding Fathers, Federalism, and the stories of Americans who lost their lives so we would be able to live in freedom.

I am particularly pleased to support and co-sponsor this legislation because it reminds me of how public schools back in Texas teach students about Texas history. While growing up in San Antonio, I learned about a great Texan from Tennessee, named Sam Houston and how he influenced the Republic of Texas and the United States. Now, I have the honor to serve in the Senate in the seat once held by Sam Houston. American history and civics were crucial for my education. Today's children should have the same opportunity as I did to learn about the influential people who shaped this nation.

This legislation creates a four-year pilot program for schools to receive grant money from the National Endowment of the Humanities. Each year the program will receive $25 million in grant money. Although $25 million is a small amount in the beginning, I hope the program will thrive and grow in the future. Under the proposal, grant money will fund a two week seminar on American history and civics for teachers. Also, students can attend a four week academy in the summer to learn American history and civics.

Mr. Chairman, how can American children know the true meaning of being an American without understanding the key influences and principles in which this great nation was built? Children need to learn about their inalienable rights found within the Bill of Rights and why these are so important to each American. They need to learn why the colonies demanded independence from the British. American students need to understand how slavery impacted the country and how many Americans fought for their freedom and equality for generations. Every American needs to know their rights and how their government works in order to insure their God-given rights are never infringed.

After the September 11th attacks, now more than ever, we need to teach our young people what it truly means to be an American and a freedom-loving person. I believe the American History and Civics Education Act will ensure young people have a solid background on which to build a life long interest in our nation's history. I am a proud co-sponsor of S. 504. I thank the Senator from Tennessee for introducing this legislation and chairing this important hearing.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR THAD COCHRAN

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate very much your invitation to participate in this hearing.

I congratulate the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Alexander) for his leadership on the issue of teaching history and civics. As the Committee considers the American History and Civics Education Act, I hope it will be sure to carefully examine a program currently authorized and funded through the Department of Education called, "We the People . . . The Citizen and the Constitution." This program is the result of the work of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution, chaired by Chief Justice Warren Burger during the years 1985 to 1992. The Honorable Lynne V. Cheney was a member, as were Senators, Members of Congress and other prominent Americans. There was also a National Advisory Committee for the development of the program we know today as "We the People . . ." Some of its members were Senators and Members of Congress, both Republicans and Democrats.

The dual purposes of the Commission and the Committee included developing a recommended text and accompanying curriculum for teaching the American Constitution. The result is a set of texts that is nationally known as one of the best, if not the best, for teaching our Constitution to young people. "We the People . . ." also includes a comprehensive teacher training curriculum and a National competitive program for students.

One classroom set with teacher materials is provided free of charge to every Congressional district. Additional sets are available at a modest cost. The texts have also been adapted and translated for use in former soviet countries.

It is important to bring attention to this program because it has proven its effectiveness. "We the People . . ." has been administered by the Center for Civic Education since its start in 1987. Studies over the last ten years conducted by the Center for Civic Education and independent institutions have shown dramatic effects.

I'll include that information at the end of my statement. But first, I want to share with the Committee a poignant electronic mail message sent to a "We the People . . ." teacher just a few months ago.

Dear Mr. Alcox,

About a year ago I was in your constitutional law class. I really loved your class. I ended up dropping out of school and joined the United States Army. I held on to your books because they were my life. I continued studying after I got out of basic training, and thought about going to college for law, because I enjoyed your class so much.

One day a sergeant of mine borrowed my book and we went to the field. When I got back after a month he and my book were gone. He went to Germany and I tried finding him so I could get my book back, but I just kept hitting dead ends. The reason I am writing to you is because I was wondering if it would be possible to get another copy of the book. I will pay anything in the world to have them. The only problem I face right now is that I am deploying overseas to fight. I leave at the end of this month and it takes 7 days for packages to reach me from New Hampshire. I will have my dad deliver a check or something. If something could be worked out please write back to me and let me know what I would have to do, and if not I understand completely. I'm still working on the essay of what the American flag means to me. I'm up to 8 pages and it needs more work.

Thank you for inspiring me!

Sincerely,

PFC Andrea Welch

By the way, I'm told Private Welch received her books. This young woman*s message to her teacher is a compelling testimony about what he taught and how he taught. It is one of the best pieces of evidence we have that teaching American history and civics will encourage young people and help them develop their minds to better serve our nation.

Again, I thank the Chairman for inviting me to participate in this hearing. I am pleased to cosponsor the American History and Civics Education Act. I commend the distinguished Senator from Tennessee for his leadership on this issue, and I am pleased to join the effort to have this legislation considered by the Senate.

The following is a summary of research findings provided at my request by the Center for Civic Education.

Center for Civic Education
5146 Douglas Fir Road
Calabasas, California 91302
(818) 591-9321

Increases in knowledge. We the People . . students have greater political knowledge than their peers, political science majors, and adults. For example, We the People . . . students:

Scored 23% higher on political knowledge test items that were a part of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)

Outperformed college freshmen political science majors in political knowledge

Outperformed adults on a knowledge index

Increases in interest and commitment. We the People . . . students report higher levels of interest in political life and higher commitment to staying well. For example, in comparison with their peers, We the People . . . students showed:

Increased interest in the Constitution and Bill of Rights and commitment to their values and principles

Greater interest in keeping up with public affairs, during their high school years and after graduation

Greater attention to public affairs, as evidenced by regular reading of newspapers at higher rates than peers

Improvement in political attitudes. We the People . . . students showed greater improvement than their peers and adults in political attitudes. For example, We the People . . . students and were found to be:

More politically tolerant than the average American

More politically tolerant than high school students using other curricula

More self-confident and perceived fewer limits on their own political freedom

Less cynical about government

Increased participation. We the People . . . students showed greater participation in all aspects of the political process than their peers. For example, We the People . . . students and were found to be:

More likely to participate in the political process, even in high school

Voting in higher numbers than their peers. A study of alumni found that 82% voted in November 2000, in contrast to 48% of their peers

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More likely to work for a political campaign, to contribute to a campaign, or to take part in a protest

More likely to discuss politics

Serving the public as public officials (one alum is mayor of Nogales, Arizona), staffing political offices in the Capitol and in state legislatures, clerking for justices, serving in the armed forces, teaching in classrooms, and mentoring high school students in the We the People program.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BRUCE COLE

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the members of this Committee, for the opportunity to testify today.

This hearing helps raise awareness of an important issue—the need to increase and enhance knowledge and understanding of American history.

It is crucial that we understand the principles, events, and ideas that have defined our past and that will shape our future. Democracy, unlike other forms of government, is not self-perpetuating. Its ideas and principles must be taught and transmitted. Indeed, we cannot defend what we do not understand. But even as our country is at war, numerous studies indicate that many students lack even a basic knowledge of their country's past.

I'll give you just a few examples:

A recent survey of students enrolled at the 55 of our nation's most elite colleges and universities found that 40 percent of our brightest young people cannot place the Civil War in the correct half-century. More than a third of these students could not identify the Constitution as establishing our government's division of powers.

At the secondary school level, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) test found that over half of all high school seniors scored "below basic"—that is, *below* the bare minimum level of proficiency in history. To illustrate what that means: 18 percent of seniors thought Germany was a U.S. ally in World War II. Less than half correctly identified the Soviet Union as an ally.

In speaking to various groups, I have called this loss of memory and lack of understanding of our history our American amnesia. The consequences are serious. Citizens who do not know their rights are less likely to protect them. And if young Americans cannot recall whom we fought, and whom we fought alongside, during World War II, there is no reason to expect that they will long remember what happened on September 11.

As Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, one of my top priorities for the agency and its able staff is to address this challenge of American amnesia. We are aiming to do this through a new initiative called *We the People*.

On Constitution Day, September 17, 2002, in a special Rose Garden ceremony, President Bush announced the launch of the *We the People* initiative, to be spearheaded by the NEH. *We the People* is designed to broaden and deepen Americans' knowledge of their nation's history. We are honored that the President has chosen the Endowment to play a leadership role in the Administration's American history and civics initiative, and we look forward to serving in this capacity. This initiative is an important part of the President's USA Freedom Corps, which is working to promote a culture of active, engaged citizens who have a better understanding of their democratic traditions and their duties to serve our communities and country.

We the People aims to cultivate an enhanced understanding of American history among students, teachers, and the public at large. *We the People* will enlist the efforts of scholars, professors, curators, librarians, filmmakers and others engage in a wide variety of projects, including the creation of model history curricula, the digitization and dissemination of historical documents, the expansion of our acclaimed summer seminars for school teachers, and new programs that bring history to our citizens.

Already, the endowment has undertaken several exciting efforts as part of this initiative. This year we launched a nationwide solicitation of grant applications to address *We the People* themes and topics throughout the NEH's divisions. On May 1, we will host the Inaugural "Heroes of History" lecture, featuring acclaimed historian Robert Remini, who was authorized by the House of Representatives to write its official history. In addition, we recently held the first "Idea of America" essay contest, where more than 1,300 high school juniors submitted essays on key events in America's history.

I should also mention that on May 15th the NEH will present the Thirty-Second Annual Jefferson Lecture, delivered by distinguished historian David McCullough. He is a first-rate scholar and a leading champion of American history.

Each of these NEH efforts aims at enhancing and increasing knowledge and understanding of American history among teachers, students, and the general public.

This hearing is another important step. I want to express my appreciation to Senator Alexander for his work to address this issue, both in his home state of Tennessee, and from the Capitol. He has been an effective and dedicated advocate for excellence in education, and I look forward to working with him toward that shared goal.

The American History and Civics Education Act authorizes the establishment of Presidential academies for teaching history content to teachers, and Congressional academies for teaching history to gifted students. It would place the responsibility for selecting those academies within the purview of the NEH, and its highly respected merit review system.

It is a truism of teaching that one cannot teach what one does not know. As someone whose life was changed by the inspired teaching of a college professor, I can attest to the transformative power of quality teaching. But studies also show that secondary school history teachers receive less instruction and training in their discipline than teachers of any other subject, except the natural sciences. In fact, one recent Department of Education study found that 58 percent of high school history teachers neither majored nor minored in history.

There are many reasons for the "content gap" in history teaching. Many education schools focus more on the theory and methods of teaching, rather than *what* is being taught. The emphasis that Undersecretary Hickok, Senator Alexander and others have placed on teaching history content, as opposed to pedagogy, is exactly right. Teacher certification requires that teachers take a variety of courses on pedagogy—in other words, teaching how to teach. But all too often, this emphasis shortchanges instruction in content itself.

But regardless of the reasons, the challenge is clear: we need to enhance and extend the teaching of history to teachers, so that they can pass it on to their students.

One way in which the NEH addresses this challenge is through its widely-respected summer seminars and institutes for school teachers. Each summer, the NEH sponsors numerous summer seminars and institutes on a variety of humanities topics. Each seminar or institute sponsored is selected by the NEH's rigorous merit review system, and each concentrate on teaching the teachers history and humanities content. In the testimonials we've received, many teachers have claimed that the experience was extremely helpful and rewarding, and that learning more about a subject naturally enabled them to teach it more effectively.

Mr. Chairman, the Administration and the NEH share your concern with ensuring that our nation's history is well understood by teachers, students, and all citizens. The ideas, ideals and institutions that comprised our founding and form our nation should be well and widely taught. With nearly forty years of experience as the federal government's agency for advancing education, scholarship, public programs, and preservation in history and the humanities, NEH is well positioned to contribute to this important effort.

Again, I want to express my appreciation for the willingness of this committee to address the issue of American amnesia, the work and experience Senator Alexander has invested in this legislation, and the opportunity to testify today. I would be glad to answer any questions.

Prepared Statement of Eugene W. Hickok

Mr. Chairman: Thank you for the opportunity to join this distinguished panel today to discuss the teaching and learning of American history and civics. The subject of this hearing is not only an important education policy issue, but one that has been at the heart of my own efforts as a scholar and teacher over the past 30 years.

In particular, I was pleased to note that the definition of "key documents" in S. 504, the proposed American History and Civics Education Act, includes not only the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, but also the Federalist Papers. Much of my own research and writing has focused on the proper interpretation and relationship of these documents. In addition, it was my privilege to apply my research as a member of a Justice Department task force during the Reagan Administration that sought to restore the essential role of Federalism to American political thought and governance.

One of the key benefits of Federalism, by the way, is that by reserving key decisions to officials and citizens at the State and local levels, Federalism promotes better and more involved citizenship.

Mr. Chairman, President Bush and Secretary Paige share your emphasis on the growing importance of history and civics education at a time when our Nation is at war in defense of our most deeply held beliefs and ideals. The Department cur-

rently funds two programs that help reinforce our shared values, and both are priorities in the President's 2004 budget request.

TEACHING AMERICAN HISTORY

The first is the two-year-old Teaching American History program, which in fiscal year 2003 will provide nearly $100 million to promote the teaching of traditional American history as a separate academic subject in our elementary and secondary schools. This program makes competitive awards to local school districts that establish partnerships with postsecondary institutions, nonprofit history or humanities organizations, libraries, or museums. These partnerships support professional development for teachers of American history.

Mr. Chairman, I know you have used the phrase "civic illiterates" to describe the woeful ignorance of civics demonstrated by American students on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). I'm afraid there is perhaps even greater cause to apply that description to student knowledge of history, because only 10 percent of high school seniors scored at the proficient level on the 2001 NAEP history test.

Much of this poor performance arises from the fact that too much of the history taught in our schools is compressed and diluted within broader social studies curricula. I say this not to denigrate social studies or social studies teachers, but to recognize that it is impossible for even the best trained teacher to do justice to the full sweep of America's history in a curriculum that also covers such topics as geography, the environment, conflict resolution, and world cultures.

For example, one published social studies curriculum for elementary school students includes a "mini lesson on American history" as just one of 50 lesson plans. I think all of us would agree that American history deserves more than a "mini lesson" in any elementary school curricula worthy of the name. This is why the Teaching American History program emphasizes comprehensive, research-based professional development focused on teaching traditional American history as a separate subject. We want all 50 of those lesson plans to be on American history—at least two or three times during the 12 years that students spend in our elementary, middle, and secondary schools.

The problem of diluted curricula is compounded when, as is too often the case, history teachers are teaching out-of-field or, even if fully certified in social studies, were not required to demonstrate knowledge of U.S. history as part of their certification. The Teaching American History program, which currently supports 174 projects in 47 States, is intended to help address this lack of content training.

One exemplary project is in West Morris, New Jersey, where Superintendent Henry Kiernan has created a new program that is helping improve the knowledge and teaching skills of over 70 history teachers. Participating teachers meet with eminent historians to discuss the craft of teaching history. They also use an interactive web site to conduct history research, distribute their research for review by fellow educators, and use the final product in their own classrooms.

The West Morris program includes summer seminars that meet for four days in historically significant locations. Last summer, the focus of the seminar was on the American Revolution and was located at Princeton. The seminar featured Dr. Gordon Wood of Brown University and master teachers from the National Council for History Education. This summer the focus is on immigration and the seminar will be located in New York City, under the direction of Dr. Kenneth Jackson of Columbia University and the New York State Historical Society.

One final note about West Morris: Superintendent Kiernan has renamed the Social Studies Department the History and Social Sciences Department, to reflect the stronger emphasis on history he is trying to foster in his district.

CIVIC EDUCATION

The second major activity supported by the Department in this area is the Civic Education program, which provides a $16.9 million grant to the nonprofit Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California. The Center operates the We the People program, which consists of two projects: The Citizen and the Constitution and Project Citizen. Let me try to avoid any confusion here by clarifying that the Center for Civic Education's We the People program is entirely separate from the new initiative by the same name at the National Endowment for the Humanities. The NEH initiative, working in partnership with the USA Freedom Corps, is part of a concerted effort by President Bush to encourage the teaching of history and civics and emphasize the role of citizenship in our democracy.

The Citizen and the Constitution project provides teacher training and curricular materials that serve elementary, middle, and high school students. The materials

are intended to promote civics understanding and responsibility among students, including support for the constitutional rights and civil liberties of dissenting individuals and groups. The project also involves simulated Congressional hearings that give students the opportunity to learn about and demonstrate their understanding of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. At the secondary school level, these hearings culminate in a national competition here in Washington, DC. If you haven't met some of these students yet, Mr. Chairman, you probably will in the near future, because the winning class from each State and their teachers make it a point to visit Members of Congress. In addition, you might be invited to serve, along with other public officials, as a judge in the competition.

Project Citizen encourages middle school students to focus on the role of State and local governments in developing and implementing solutions to social problems. Participating students select a problem, evaluate alternative policies to address the problem, and develop an action plan, which they present to school and community leaders in a simulated legislative hearing. Project Citizen also offers an intensive, weeklong institute to participating teachers.

The two We the People projects collectively serve about half the States, some 1.3 million students, and almost 22,000 teachers annually.

The Civic Education program also provides $11.9 million to the Cooperative Education Exchange program, which supports education exchange activities in civics and economics between the United States and eligible countries in Central and Eastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States, former republics of the Soviet Union, the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and developing democracies.

Grant recipients under the Cooperative Education Exchange program provide educators from eligible countries with exemplary curricula and teacher training programs in civics and economics. They also create and implement programs for U.S. students on the culture, governance, history, and experiences of their exchange partners. I think this is especially important, because I believe there are few Americans who have spent time overseas or time studying other countries who have not come away with a deeper understanding and appreciation for our own democratic system.

I would add that my own experience bears this out. A little over a decade ago, I was fortunate enough to serve as a consultant on constitutional, political, and economic reform to the governments of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

The Civic Education program is a clear Administration priority, and has been recognized by the USA Freedom Corps as a critical part of the Administration's efforts to foster a national culture of citizenship and responsibility.

BROADER SUPPORT THROUGH NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND

In addition to these two programs focused specifically on American history and civic education, the No Child Left Behind Act—President Bush's signature education reform legislation which last year reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA)—provides significant support for improved teaching and learning of both American history and civics and government.

For example, the legislation defines both history and civics and government as core academic subjects. This is important because the new law requires all teachers of core academic subjects to be highly qualified by the end of the 2005–2006 school year, and the definition of "highly qualified" includes demonstrated subject area competence in each of the academic subjects in which the teacher teaches.

The reauthorized ESEA also permits States to use State Assessment formula grant funds to pay for standards and assessments in history and civics and government, once they have developed the reading and math assessments required by the new law. Other State formula grant programs provide considerable resources to help States and school districts ensure that all teachers are highly qualified. These programs include $11.7 billion in Title I Grants to Local Educational Agencies, $2.9 billion for Improving Teacher Quality State Grants, and $385 million in State Grants for Innovative Programs.

CONCLUSION

The Teaching American History program and the Civic Education program reflect the strong emphasis the Department of Education places on restoring these two disciplines to their rightful place in the education of every American child. Together with the broader support provided through the No Child Left Behind Act that may be used to improve teaching and learning in these two essential subjects, as well as other initiatives such as those at the NEH and the "Our Documents" project at the National Archives, I believe we are on the right course to achieve this goal.

I would be happy to respond to any questions you may have.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES H. BILLINGTON

Senator Alexander, members of the Committee, thank you for inviting me to testify here today on a subject that is vital to the future of this country, on which you yourself long have worked on, and on which you recently have spoken so eloquently.

During Alex Haley's 12 years researching his groundbreaking novel, Roots, he traveled the globe to uncover his family's story, even taking a slow Atlantic crossing to get some feel for what his ancestors went through on the Middle Passage. He also spent many hours in the reading rooms of the Library of Congress, poring over American Missionary Society files from our Manuscript Collection.

For the first 190 years of the Library's existence, people could access our vast collections only by traveling to Washington, DC, and by working in our beautiful reading rooms as Mr. Haley did-or by tapping into our rich holdings secondhand, through books that made use of our collections.

Let me suggest the educational value of the primary materials we have already made available free of charge on-line.

The Library of Congress is actively supporting the teaching of history and civics in the classroom and can be a key player in your program to establish academies for students and to create a national alliance for teachers. Indeed, the Library has already taken important steps in this direction.

The technology revolution of the past decade has made it possible for the Library to reach far beyond its buildings in Washington. We now deliver 8 million interesting and educational multimedia documents, maps, and images of American history and culture free of charge to stimulate curiosity and humanize the study of history. By exploiting the power of the Internet and the incomparable resources of our collections, the Library of Congress has emerged as the leading provider of free noncommercial educational content on the World Wide Web. Millions of educators, librarians, students, and lifelong learners visit our Web sites daily for materials that once were available only through our reading rooms on Capitol Hill.

The Library's Web sites are attracting more than 2.5 billion "hits" a year. They have won many awards, including the prestigious Global Information Infrastructure Award as the best in education. The Harvard Education Letter praised the Library's on-line historical materials for encouraging students to question, observe details, and think critically.

By offering easy access to the key documents, events, ideas, and people of American history, the Library is uniquely positioned to an port the goals of educators everywhere rough its various electronic initiatives. Tanks to generous support from the Congress and the American people, the Library has grown into the largest repository of knowledge and information in the history of the world. The Library shares its resources with educators who can use them in the classroom to bring to life what their students have only read about in books.

American Memory was established as a pilot in 1990 as one of the first large-scale efforts to use the Internet to disseminate high-quality educational and cultural content.

The National Digital Library program has created an on-line archives of more than 100 collections of important, rare, and unique items in all formats documenting America's cultural heritage. The materials were selected from the Library of Congress as well as from 36 other American institutions, making the National Digital Library a truly national effort.

Students get to work with primary sources: manuscripts; maps, which you can zoom in on and view with greater clarity than with the naked eye; prints and photographs; and music. These are the actual stuff of history, not about history. These resources encourage critical thinking in students and inspire learners to further exploration. The multimedia American Memory Collections include papers of the U.S. residents, Civil War photographs, early films of Thomas Edison, historic speeches, the first baseball cards, and oral histories representing our diverse culture.

The Learning Page Web site, introduced in 1996 as a companion to the American Memory Collections, is a key component of our educational outreach program. Specifically designed for K–12 educators and their students, the Learning Page helps teachers harness the power of these primary sources with ideas and instructions for accessing the collections on a vast range of topics. Here, the content of the Library's digital collections is presented within an educational context, with lesson plans, curriculum guides, "how to" projects, and learning activities-making the educational experience a dynamic, stimulating and interactive activity like reading-not a passive spectator experience like television.

On this page teachers, at the click of a mouse, can search the collections, try out lesson plans, engage in classroom activities, connect with other teachers, ask a li-

brarian for help, view a lecture or a poetry reading, or visit more than 40 exhibitions.

Our American Memory Fellows Institute could serve in many ways as a pilot for your program to establish a national alliance of teachers. This institute has successfully trained a network of teachers across the country who are teaching other educators in their localities what they have learned at the Library about using primary sources in the classroom. Over a 5-year period more than 300 "master educators" from nearly every State participated in a year-long professional development program highlighted by a 6-day summer institute held at the Library.

Teams of educators worked directly with the Library staff and primary source materials to develop lesson plans and teaching materials based on the Library's on-line materials. These teacher-developed lesson plans were "road-tested" with students and colleagues. They are now available electronically to all teachers through the Learning Page Web site. Today, this alliance of teachers, connected virtually through our Learning Page, is teaching other teachers how to use primary sources to stimulate critical thinking in their students. But we need to reach teachers in all of the nation's 16,000 school districts.

We are already reaching children and their families directly through our new Web site called America's Library. It is fun for children and their families as well as for educators, and is currently attracting more than 22 million "hits" per month. The site combines child-friendly graphics with the incomparable American collections of the Library in more than 4,600 stories about our nation's past. Interactive elements on the site teach searching with a "scavenger hunt," offer a virtual tour around America, and give the opportunity to "send a postcard' on-line.

The Library is also lining the world's resources with America's schools through its Global Gateway Initiative. This Web site represents a collaboration between the Library of Congress and the national libraries of Russia, Brazil, Spain, and the Netherlands. Our growing collaboration with the greatest libraries and universities in the world, combined with the power of the Internet, puts the Library in a pivotal position in the new era of global education. And through the Portals to the World section of the site, the Library's area-studies specialists provide links to vetted and reliable materials from more than 130 countries. When completed, this project will bring free to America's classrooms resource materials from all the nations of the world.

Our new monthly magazine, The Wise Guide, offers articles that encourage newcomers to our Web site to explore the wealth of the Library's on-line educational programs.

By being the largest provider of free noncommercial high-quality content on the Internet, the Library is reaching students, their teachers-and all learners-with the documents, sounds, films, maps, music, and other artifacts that tell the story of America. This can be an inspirational as well as educational enhancement for the new initiatives this committee is considering.

Prepared Statement of Blanche Deaderick

Good morning Senators: I am so glad to be here today supporting Senator Alexander's proposed legislation to establish American History and Civics academies. Enhancing instruction in these areas is critical right now. We have to provide remedies for the problems Senator Alexander has identified: civic illiteracy, problematic textbooks, and the lack of requirements in some States for American History and Civics classes. Our student population is increasingly diverse, and we must enhance understanding of what it means to be an American for all those whose families have lived here for generations, but also for those new arrivals who have made a conscious choice to make their homes here in the United States.

I have been invited here to explain how the Tennessee Governor's School for International Studies can be a model for these academies. In its structure our school is very similar to what is proposed in this legislation. We have a director and a diverse core faculty chosen for expertise in the subject and for their teaching skills. Because international studies is such a broad field, we decided to make student teams focusing on different areas. We expect them to interact and share information. This year we have four teams, one studying Latin America and Portuguese language, another focusing on Sub Saharan Africa and Hausa language, a third dealing with East Asia and Chinese language, and the fourth studying Eastern Europe and Russia with Russian language.

Additionally, each morning all students address issues of major significance in today's world. This summer we will have a strong focus on the Middle East, other current flash points, environmental issues, development issues, human rights, and NATO and other alliance systems. This is not an exhaustive list. After lunch stu-

dents attend issues analysis classes where they deal with foreign policy decision-making, democracy and the conditions necessary for its survival, political systems, leadership, and other similar topics.

At this point we dive a little free time from 3:30 until 6:30, unless there is a visit to museum or exhibition. We also have an international arts emphasis. For 1 week in the afternoons, visual and performing artists provide hands on instruction, culminating in a production. Evening activities include lectures, simulations, international dancing, Model United Nations, foreign films, and international dinners. When the time really is free, participants swim, do their laundry, read, catch up on assignments, or just talk. You can see how intense this program is. We want to fit as much as possible into four short weeks. Our schools were designed to serve gifted and talented young people. I don't know what direction the admissions process for these academies will take, but it is key that students who really care about participating be selected.

A school for American History could be developed along these same lines. There are so many ways to individualize instruction. Students might concentrate on specific periods of history or on topics like foreign policy through our history, the development of immigration law, or civil rights growth. Senator Alexander spoke of the principles of American citizenship: liberty, rule of law, laissez faire, individualism, e pluribus unum, and the separation of church and State. Each could be an area of study for a small group at the academies, culmination in grow presentations. These are merely suggestions. Academy faculties will develop stimulating curricula. The important point is that instruction be unique, individualized, and unpredictable. At the Tennessee Governors School our primary goal has been to provide experiences which would not ordinarily be found in schools. We encourage our faculty to live in the dorms with students and interact with them as much as possible. There is never a day when students aren't around asking questions, engaging in debates among themselves and with faculty. Sleep deprivation is the norm. But then they return to their schools exhilarated, ready to share all their new-found knowledge.

This same scenario applies to the teacher academies. I'm sure you all know how little time teachers have today. School teaching has become an all inclusive operation-teaching a subject, guiding, teaching manners and ethics, paper work, guarding against litigation, coaching, hall monitoring, mastering the newest computer programs for attendance and parent contacts, lesson line, curriculum maps-the list is endless and what suffers is preparation in the subject. Teachers hardly have time left to read and keep up to date. This is why these academies are essential. When these teachers go back to their schools, they will have been involved in scholarly pursuits and will have developed lessons which reflect depth, and these lessons will be ready to teach. This can even help with textbook problems. I can't imagine anything better than to spend weeks in a stimulating environment with other people focused on history and government, while someone else is taking care of the day-to-day responsibilities. Teachers will return home more knowledgeable, rested, and ready to inspire students and other faculty.

Again and again, I encounter students who have attended Governor's School or who know someone who has, and I hear how their lives have been transformed by experiences in our classrooms and during late night talk sessions. Our students are now in the U. S. Foreign Service, in State Government, in teaching, in all kinds of leadership positions, probably even in your offices; and many, many say that Governor's School was the shaping event in their lives. With this legislation you can make these same life changing experiences possible for even more students and teachers.

Prepared Statement of Diane Ravitch

My name is Diane Ravitch. I am a Research Professor of Education at New York University and a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution. I am a historian who specializes in the history of American education. It was my honor to serve as Assistant Secretary for the Office of Research and Improvement in the U.S. Department of Education from 1991 to 1993.

I strongly an port this proposed legislation.

In these perilous times, with our men and women engaged in combat on the other side of the globe, knowledge of history is clear. We rely on a volunteer force of men and women to protect our freedoms and our way of life. We rely on them to know what they are fighting for. They are on the battlefield and risk their lives because they love our country and what it represents in the annals of human freedom.

Although it is customary for people of a certain age to complain about the inadequacies of the younger generation, such complaints ring hollow today. Many Ameri-

cans have been surprised to see the character of our young people on the battlefield. Many of us believed the image so often projected in the movies of a younger generation that is self-centered, lazy, shallow, and lacking in purpose. Certainly our adversaries believed this portrayal and believed that we as a people were soft and fearful, caring only for material comforts.

Now we know that the moviemakers' depiction of mass narcissism said more about Hollywood than it did about our young men and women. What we have learned in these past few weeks is that this younger generation, as represented on the battlefields of Iraq, may well be our finest generation. We have daily, almost hourly, seen demonstrations of remarkable courage, self-discipline, compassion, and strength. Free peoples everywhere should sleep better at night knowing that we are protected by a strong fighting force committed to the ideals of freedom and democracy.

Our nation has time and again been required to stand up for its ideals. Each time we do, we promise those who serve that their sacrifices will not be forgotten. We must keep our promises. The best way to keep our promises is to make sure that we teach the history of freedom and democratic institutions and that each generation learns again about the ideas, the heroes, the events, and the controversies that have made it possible for us to live in a free society. We must not forget those who have served on our behalf, nor forget why they served.

Each generation needs to learn about such important principles as equality, freedom, equal justice under law, individualism, separation of church and State, popular sovereignty, and limited government. Each generation needs to understand the rights and freedoms that we hold dear. Each generation needs to know how our nation was created and the struggles that it has endured in order to breathe life into our Constitutional guarantees and institutions.

History education is one of the most important responsibilities of our schools. Unfortunately, for many years, the teaching of history had a low priority. In the 1970's and 1980's, history in many schools was replaced by a mishmash of ill-defined social studies courses that taught things like group decisionmaking, consumer education, and social science concepts. In 1983, for instance, the New York State Education Department intended to replace the chronological study of history with a thematic approach in which events were merged with big concepts and taught without regard to cause and effect. A popular outcry prevented that from taking place.

In many States, history was submerged into social studies programs, and States adopted social studies standards that ignored chronological history. Civics too suffered when it was separated from the study of American history. The study of history has been making a comeback in recent years. Ten years ago, only four States—California, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Texas-had history standards to guide teachers. Today, after 10 years of popular support for academic standards, about half the States now have history standards.

We know from the tests given by the National Assessment of Educational Progress that our students, especially in their senior year, have low scores in American history. In fact, the performance of seniors on the NAEP in U.S. history is worse than in any other subject, whether science, reading, or mathematics.

The greatest need in history education today is for well-prepared teachers who have studied history and who know how to make it vivid for youngsters.

Too many States have very low requirements for those who plan to teach history. In part, this is because of a longstanding tradition that anyone can teach history; just stay a few pages ahead of the students in the textbook, and you too can be a history teacher. That method is not good enough for teachers of math or science, and it is not good enough for history teachers either.

Our young people should study history with teachers who love history, who can go far beyond the textbook to get youngsters involved in learning about the exciting events and controversies that bring history to life; we need teachers who know enough about history to awaken the curiosity of their students and to encourage them to read more than the textbooks tell them and even to question what the textbooks tell them.

Sadl the majority of those who teach history in our schools are teaching out of their Field. According to data from the U.S. Department of Education, a majority of history teachers in grades 7–12 lack either a college major or minor or graduate degree in history. In many cases, they majored in education, not in an academic subject. The only field that has more out-of-field teaching than history is the physical sciences, that is, physics and chemistry.

Many States recognize that they must make extraordinary efforts to reach out and recruit qualified teachers of physical sciences, but there is no comparable awareness of the conspicuous shortage of qualified teachers of history. In part, the problem is one created by short-sighted State policies, which put more emphasis on

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pedagogical degrees than on knowledge of one's subject. The young person with a history degree who wants to teach may be required to take many courses in pedagogy, even another master's degree in pedagogy, whether relevant to teaching ability or not.

Another reason for the shortage of qualified history teachers is that our universities have not addressed this need. With few exceptions, their history departments have become highly specialized; in addition to narrow specialization, university professors tend to pride themselves on taking a highly critical, adversarial attitude toward American history and culture. Nor do university professors believe that it is their role to teach civics along with history. Few universities have programs geared to produce teachers of history and civics for the K–12 classrooms; they leave that to the social studies educators, who see history as only a small part of their very large and diffuse subject.

This is a case where Congress can help with very clear and specific goals: Supplying academies for teachers of American history and civics, as well as programs for motivated students of American history and civics.

The need is clear. We simply do not have enough teachers who are well prepared to teach these basic subjects. The legislative program is equally clear: to provide academies where teachers can gain the knowledge and skills to teach American history and civics effectively.

Many teachers today would be grateful for the opportunity to strengthen their knowledge of American history and civics in a 2-week summer institute. Many who seek to deepen their understanding of these subjects would leap at the chance to participate in a Presidential Academy. The models of teaching and learning developed by these academies would supply an important service to our nation's schools.

There are many talented young people who would eagerly respond to the chance to attend a Congressional Academy in American history and civics. For those who love history, this would be a wonderful opportunity to inquire deeply into a field that is usually far too compressed. Many of these young people may well become the history teachers of the future.

One of the responsibilities of a free society is to teach its young peoples the principles of freedom and democracy. These principles do not exist in a vacuum. They have a history. They evolved over time. They were won with the sacrifices and struggles of generations of Americans. Students are not born understanding what they need to know a bout our government and way of life. They runs to be taught. This legislation will make an important contribution toward improving and strengthening our teachers and students of history and civics, and through them, will enrich the classrooms of America.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RUSSELL BERG

Mr. Chairman, it is an honor to testify before this Committee on this most important issue of civic education. By promoting civic education in our schools, you and the cosponsors of this legislation, including our Senator Christopher Dodd, have proven that education is not an issue to be sidelined in the face of pressing current issues. Your actions have shown us that education is a pressing current issue.

Unfortunately, to many Americans, our government seems intimidating and difficult to understand. Civic education is the key to comprehending, appreciating and eventually participating in our democratic process. The "We the People, the Citizen and the Constitution" program, which is administered by the Center for Civic Education and funded by the United States Department of Education by an act of Congress, takes the logical approach to understanding our American government, by tracing its manifestations to their source, the Constitution.

Our Constitution provides government with powers and limitations, to ensure congruence with the Founders' greatest hopes of a benevolent government ruling under popular consent. To many Americans, the Constitution is a revered document, written on browned parchment with faded ink. But to my class, the Constitution is a living gold mine of philosophical, political and social history.

Our State champion Trumbull, Connecticut "We the People" class is led by the knowledgeable and charismatic Mr. Peter Sullivan. The most incredible achievement that our class has made, and that Mr. Sullivan has in no small way facilitated, is the critical mass of constitutional knowledge we have learned. My favorite moments in education occur when concepts and new information can be integrated into an overall framework of the issue. A beautiful symphony of debate and exchange miraculously manifests every morning in our class. Mr. Sullivan might bring up an issue currently on the Supreme Court docket, or ask the class for any news they heard the night before. An opinion is expressed by a student, a rebuttal by another. A particularly progressive member of the class might apply the issue to its broader social

ramifications. A more critical member of the class would then appeal to our logic and the realistic implications of the Court's decisions.

Here, in a brew of free, creative thought, coupled with a solid foundation of constitutional knowledge on which to anchor our arguments, lies true learning. Not learning without any application to our lives, but knowledge that sheds light and understanding upon issues affecting a government that is involved in so many issues that concern our daily lives.

"We the People" was a class I signed up for at the end of my junior year, with great expectations in mind. I had heard from many older students that the class was more than a class. It was hard work, to be sure, but the rewards extended beyond grades and test scores.

In two weeks, our team will be competing in the National Finals for the "We the People: The Citizen and the Constitution" program. Throughout the year, a common goal has driven us together, and together forward. I have seen miraculous things this past year. I have seen quiet, reserved students suddenly emerge, citing complex Court cases with confidence and vigor in our daily debates. Students who many dreaded would succumb to the great demands of the program have only flourished to become our leaders and exemplars. Simply put, well-designed programs in civics, such as "We the People", taught by teachers like Mr. Sullivan, make a difference in the classroom.

Surely, such changes in our young people can only be for the better. A civic education, as buttressed by the "We the People" program, does not merely press rote facts into receptive minds. It challenges us to use this information as support for our own arguments and opinions. Undoubtedly, everyone in our class has learned more than they bargained for about the U.S. Government and her Constitution. But the benefits of this civic education extend beyond learning. This program has allowed us to become involved in the government that we spend so much time studying.

The Constitution is associated with words which reflect the importance of the American citizen, such as 'popular sovereignty', 'consensus', and 'majority'. It is clear who was intended to captain the ship of America; her people. Our nation is designed to be accessible, to its citizens and to incoming immigrants. To those who have ambition and a dream. For me, this lesson has only been confirmed by my experiences this year. "We the People" is not merely a mental exercise, or a contest of effort and knowledge. By learning about the government, one automatically becomes involved in it. I am here today, in front of the nation's leaders, speaking with a message I hope to convey. I have learned in class that we are blessed with a participatory government. Now it has been proven to me.

The importance of developing these fundamental principles and values among my generation and future generations was noted by Judge Learned Hand in an article on liberty, published by the Yale Alumni Magazine on June 6, 1941:

"I often wonder whether we do not rest our hopes too much upon constitutions, upon laws, and upon courts. These are false hopes, believe me, these are false hopes. Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women, when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no court, no law can even do much to help it. While it lies there it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it . . . "

Mr. Chairman, I thank the committee for giving me the opportunity to testify.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PHILIP D. DUNCAN

Chairman Gregg and Senator Kennedy, I am pleased to have this opportunity to submit written testimony on behalf of the National Conference on Citizenship on the important issue of teaching civics education in the classrooms of our Nation.

As the Committee knows, there has been a lack of focused civics education at all levels of schooling in the United States for several decades. As President Bush recently noted, tests and studies have demonstrated that 28 percent of 8th graders do not know why the Civil War was fought, one-third of 4th graders did not know what it means to "pledge allegiance to the flag," and 20 percent of high school seniors believed that Germany was an ally of the United States in World War II. Meanwhile, there has been a trend of disengagement from political affairs among college-age students and recent graduates.

There is a need for innovative educational programs that will foster informed, thoughtful and active citizen leaders among our younger generations. We believe that bipartisan legislation such as S. 504, the American History and Civics Education Act of 2003, demonstrates that Congress is prepared to tackle the challenge of reinvigorating classroom discussion on the events, ideas and historical figures that unite us all as Americans. We commend Senator Alexander for taking a leader-

ship role on this issue, reflecting his career as public servant, educator and innovator.

Over the decades, the National Conference on Citizenship has undertaken a variety of programs and projects aimed at promoting civic involvement and civil dialogue. The National Conference on Citizenship is a non-profit, non-partisan 501(c)(3) organization founded in 1946 by citizens who gathered in Philadelphia and sought to preserve the spirit of civic unity that prevailed in the U.S. during World War 11. In its early years, the Conference received financial support from the Dept. of Justice and the National Education Association. Congress enacted legislation in August, 1953 granting the National Conference on Citizenship a federal charter, directing it to "assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective . . ." Public Law 257, 83rd Congress, 1st Session. Past Honorary Chairmen have included former Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, Lyndon Johnson and Harry Truman, and former Supreme Court Chief Justices Earl Warren and Warren Burger, and former Justice Tom Clark.

Our Nation's ability to raise "effective" citizens is linked inextricably to what goes on in our classrooms from the earliest ages of our children. Over the 56 years that the National Conference on Citizenship has been in existence, there has been a great fluctuation in terms of the content of curricula at all levels. Our organization's mission includes efforts to commemorate Citizenship Day and Constitution Week each September and thus raise awareness of the United States Constitution. As our Nation has faced unprecedented challenges in the post-September 11 environment, there has been increased discourse as to the range of Constitutional freedoms—privacy, rights of prisoners, the death penalty, free speech, just to name a few. How can we as a society have intelligent and reasoned discourse if our young people aren't fully aware of the origins and nature of such rights?

Now, more than ever, it is essential that Congress support the notion of improving civics education at all levels of schooling. Our organization is undertaking new initiatives designed to reach K-12 and college-age students and to inspire them to become active, enlightened citizens. And, we are very pleased that this Committee is taking the time to learn more about the current state of affairs in civics education and to consider legislation such as Senator Alexander's comprehensive bill.

Statement of Lawrence M. Small

Introduction

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: Thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today to express the Smithsonian Institution's commitment to American History education. Americans need to be aware of the key events and issues of our history in order to be engaged and effective citizens in a democratic society. And now, more than ever, a knowledge and understanding of our nation's foundation is vital for every citizen.

Every day at the Smithsonian, Americans benefit from seeing our nation's historic, artistic, and scientific treasures. These original, iconic objects have a power to educate, enlighten, and inspire that is truly unique. From them, visitors learn stories of American courage, sacrifice, and triumph. They are reminded of our willingness to fight for the values we hold dear, our ability to overcome adversity, and our responsibilities as citizens to participate in the democratic process. Within our great democracy, they are able to think about, freely discuss, and even argue their nation's history.

As the largest museum complex in the world, the Smithsonian spans sixteen museums and galleries, the National Zoo, world-class research facilities, and extensive education and outreach programs. We are privileged to be the steward of millions of objects that preserve the memories and experiences of the American people. We are home to The Star Spangled Banner, Gilbert Stuart's famous 1796 "Lansdowne" portrait of George Washington, the desk on which Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence, the microphone FDR used for his fireside chats, and countless other American icons. Our exhibitions tell stories of people and events that shaped our nation, from The American Presidency: A Glorious Burden, to GI: World War II, to Apollo to the Moon, all the way up to September 11: Bearing Witness to History.

As guardians of our nation's greatest treasures, we at the Smithsonian are continually asking what we need to do to assure that today's generation and the next generation of Americans can learn about our nation's history, challenges, achievements, and values. One way is through museum exhibitions and programming. Another way is through a greater emphasis on American history and civics education in our schools. Museums and schools share similar-and complementary- educational goals.

BRINGING AMERICAN HISTORY TO LIFE

The great public mission at the Smithsonian is to create experiences that educate, excite, entertain, and inspire Americans. The next Neil Armstrong may be moved to reach for the stars by our new Apollo 11 website for students. A young person who visits the Greensboro lunch counter in our National Museum of American History and hears the story of four African American students who sat down there and politely asked for service in 1960, might be drawn to a life of activism. Or seeing the New York City Fire Department cap that Rudolph Guiliani wore during his visits to Ground Zero might inspire a child to a career in public service. By visiting Smithsonian exhibitions, our young people can find these stories and those of other American heroes who have made great contributions to this country.

Our approach is comprehensive-in our museums, in our traveling exhibitions, our publications, our teacher training, and our websites. A good example is the Smithsonian's groundbreaking American Presidency: A Glorious Burden exhibition, which gives visitors a greater understanding of public service and leadership, as well as a sense of pride in the history of the institution of the American presidency. It includes a permanent exhibition in Washington and a traveling exhibition currently touring across the country. We have also conducted teacher workshops, hosted an American Presidency Family Day, published a family guide and an interactive website, and produced print and web K-12 teaching guides.

COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION

The Smithsonian is far more than just a place to visit. The Institution was established in 1846 for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge." For 157 years, we've been working to fulfill this dual mission. Last year alone, we reached tens of millions of Americans through our education programs. But we're committed to doing even more. Our Center for Education and Museum Studies conducted an institution-wide survey of education, identifying the thousands of programs that the Smithsonian offers for teachers, students, and families, and laying the groundwork for strategic planning. We have made worldclass education a top priority at the Smithsonian. Our staff is working together as never before to set new educational programming standards and to better serve teachers and students. And we are making a real difference.

Nearly 15 million students have benefited in the past year from Smithsonian educational programming, including publications, docent-led tours, museum and classroom enrichment activities, distance learning classes, visiting scholars, websites, and publications.

In addition, we reached 1.5 million K-12 educators through publications, resources, and training designed specifically for them. Educators are clearly looking to the Smithsonian for teaching resources. Of the 65 million visits to the Smithsonian's websites in the past year, one in four is searching for educational materials. We're working hard to fill their needs; we have more than 300 educational websites at the Smithsonian, and dozens more are under development right now.

IMPROVING THE TEACHING OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Smithsonian resources are found in every middle and elementary school in the nation. Our teaching guide to American history, Smithsonian in Your Classroom, is sent biannually to more than 82,000 schools. We have recently launched a major central education website, which brings together nearly 1,000 Smithsonian educational resources that can be used in the classroom. It helps users find such notable teaching resources as our award-winning "George Catlin Classroom" website; our Advanced Placement site, which shows educators how to teach American history through documents and artifacts; and our "George Washington: A National Treasure" site, which shows children how to explore the most important visual document of our nation's founding-Gilbert Stuart's famous 1796 "Lansdowne" portrait of George Washington.

The Smithsonian is also actively partnering with schools to make a real and quantifiable difference in the teaching of American History. Thanks to legislation introduced by Senator Robert Byrd, the Smithsonian is participating in two Teaching American History grants provided by Congress and the Department of Education. The Smithsonian is providing advanced techniques for teaching American history in two school districts: Montgomery County in Maryland and Charlotte-Mecklenburg in North Carolina. The teachers are learning how to use primary and secondary sources, develop model lesson plans, and improve student performance. These three-year grants are breaking new ground in showing how museums can make positive contributions to the teaching of American history. After just one year, Montgomery

County formally adopted the Smithsonian's materials into its fourth-and fifth-grade history curriculum, and its teachers have shown significant gains in their history-teaching skills, as well as in their personal and professional interest in American history.

Through partnerships such as these, the Smithsonian is uniquely positioned to see the real need for resources and training in the teaching of American history and civics. Our partner school districts report large percentages of teachers who have never been given the necessary training in American history. For example, in Montgomery County, one of the strongest school districts in the state, teachers have taken an average of only three history classes in college. Less than thirty percent have taken an American history class in the previous five years. And more than forty percent have never had any training in how to teach history.

These data are cause for concern. If teachers don't have the training they need, our students will not receive an adequate understanding of the history of their own nation. Schools clearly need direction and assistance in developing the necessary expertise within their teaching ranks. And we know they are looking for this direction and assistance because of the hundreds of requests the Smithsonian receives each year for materials, assistance, and potential partnerships.

CONCLUSION

The desk on which Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence is on display in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. If you look carefully, you can see ink stains from the first pen strokes that shaped our democracy. In these same halls, you can find the remains of a bullet-riddled tree that once stood at the Battle of Spotsylvania during the Civil War. Now more than ever, this tree is a reminder of the sacrifices required by liberty and freedom. These are more than objects; they are tangible symbols of what it is to be an American.

Understanding our history is fundamental to being a good citizen. The Smithsonian Institution and the American History and Civics Education Act of 2003 share a common goal: to ensure that our young people have a solid historical foundation so they can understand American history and democratic principles and be prepared to exercise their civic rights and responsibilities. As a guardian of a large portion for our nation's most significant historic treasure, the Smithsonian is eager to contribute to the teaching of American history and civics. Museums have so much to offer schools, and we know that we can do so much more by working together.

STATEMENT OF ROBIN BUTTERFIELD

PUTTING NATIVE AMERICANS BACK INTO AMERICAN HISTORY

Introduction. Chairman Gregg and Members of the Committee, thank you for this opportunity to submit testimony on behalf of the National Indian Education Association with regard to the American History and Civics Education Act of 2003, S. 504.

The National Indian Education Association (NIEA) is the oldest and largest national organization representing the education concerns of over 3,000 American Indian, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian educators, tribal leaders, school administrators, teachers, parents, and student members. Founded in 1969, the NIEA works to support traditional Native cultures and values and to provide American Indians and Alaskan Natives with a national voice in their efforts to improve access to educational opportunities.

The role of Native Americans in the development of the American democracy often has been overlooked or misrepresented. For years, American History and Civics textbooks did not do justice to the role of Indians in American history, nor their part in the development of the American government. Instead, to the extent Indians were mentioned at all, they were either romanticized as the "Noble Savage" or described as impediments to the realization of the Manifest Destiny of the United States to extend its reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Fortunately, in recent years, a number of states, including California, Montana and Minnesota, have required curriculum changes to include teaching on American Indian history. Hopefully, more will do so in the near future.

For Indian people, the link between education and culture is fundamental. Unfortunately, this can work for good or for ill. For years, the Federal government used education as a tool to force assimilation on Indian peoples, most notably during the period when Federal Indian policy required Indian children to attend boarding schools where they were prohibited from speaking their native languages. The motto of the Federal government during that time was: "Kill the Indian, Save the Man." This policy was morally repugnant and did great harm to Indian culture and identity. In this context, it is all the more important that when the Federal government

promotes the teaching of American History and Civics that it specifically include the role and contribution of Native Americans. From our standpoint, it is not possible for Americans to fully understand American democracy unless they also understand the rich traditions of precontact Indian societies, the roles Indians played directly in the development of American democracy, and the devastation of forced assimilation and the loss of tribal lands, which all contributed in one way or another to the development of that democracy.

Native Americans have played a substantial role in the development of the key institutions and democratic heritage of the United States. American democracy was not developed in a vacuum. The American colonists had to look no farther than their next-door neighbor, the Iroquois Confederacy, to find a working "federal" system of government. The Iroquois Confederacy consisted of a federation of five, and then later six, Indian nations governed by a United Council of elected tribal leaders under the Great Law of Peace. The sophisticated tenets of governance that sustained the Iroquois Confederacy-equal rights (including full rights for woman, something not realized by the United States until the early 20th Century), freedom of speech, religious tolerance, balance of power, a mix of individualism combined with concern for the common welfare-provided a sharp contrast to the tyrannical system of George In and the divine rights of European monarchies. Benjamin Franklin, who incorporated many of the same governing principles into his draft of the historic Albany Plan, stated "It would be a strange thing . . . if Six Nations [the Iroquois Confederacy] . . . should be capable of forming such a union and be able to execute it in such a manner that it has subsisted for ages and appears indissoluble, and yet that a like union should be impractical for ten or a dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous . . ." It only makes sense that the colonists and the Native peoples would exchange not only trade goods, but ideas. Indeed, in October 1998, the Senate and the House passed Congressional Resolution 331 which formally acknowledged "the contributions of the Iroquois Confederacy of Nations to the development of our Constitution."

Another example of Indian contributions to American democracy is the caucus. The word "caucus" is taken directly from the Algonquin language. The colonists adopted both the word and the idea from the Algonquin Indians.

American Indians have made great contributions to the defense of the United States. Despite the often tragic history between the United States and its Indian peoples, American Indians have made major contributions to the defense of this land and to the preservation of American democracy. American Indians per capita have received the Medal of Honor and have volunteered in larger numbers for the armed forces than any other group in this country. Native Americans were granted U.S. citizenship in 1924 as a direct result of the overwhelming number of Native American volunteers who signed up to defend the United States during World War I. Today, Native Americans are proud of both their U.S. citizenship and their tribal citizenship. In 2001, President Bush awarded Congressional Gold Medals to the Navajo Codetalkers for their extraordinary service in the Pacific Campaign during World War II relaying encoded messages in the Navajo language. The Japanese never broke this code. Military historians have indicated that these secure communications contributed enormously to U.S. successes in this theater.

American Democracy Includes a Respect for Tribal Sovereignty. The inclusion of Native American history in any discussion of American History and Civics is also essential for understanding the unique relationship between the United States government and federally recognized tribes that exists today. The Constitution of the United States, treaties, federal statutes, Executive Orders, other agreements and Supreme Court rulings define the Federal government's trust obligations to protect the interests of Indian peoples. They also set forth Federal recognition of Indian tribes as sovereign nations with inherent powers of self-governance.

Proposed Amendments to S. 504. The National Indian Education Association supports the goals of S. 504. It is critically important for Americans to have a deeply grounded understanding of American history. This includes, however, the often forgotten history of Native Americans. The NIEA would like to see S. 504 amended to specifically provide for recognition of Native Americans, their contributions to American democracy, and their ongoing contributions to American history. Specifically, NIEA recommends the following amendments:

Section 2(1): Adding to the end of the definition of "American history and civics" the following: ", including Native American contributions."

Section 2(4): Adding to the end of the definition of "key documents" the following: "the Great Law of Peace."

Section 2(7): Adding to the definition of "key persons", after the words "elected officials" the following: "Native American leaders,"

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Section 5(d)(3): Adding at the end of this paragraph the following: "including Indian tribes and tribal education departments."

Conclusion. We hope that these comments are helpful. The NIEA looks forward to working with this Committee to achieve the laudable goal of increasing the understanding of American history and civics.

[Whereupon, at 12:03 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

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